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CSFR's Dienstbier on Upcoming Regional Meeting

LD2001225791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 20 Jan 91

[Text] The Czechoslovak, Polish, and Hungarian foreign ministers will be conferring in Budapest tomorrow. Prior to his departure, CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier spoke to journalists. Hungarian Radio was represented by Evelyn Forro.

[Begin recording] [Dienstbier, in Czech, fading into Hungarian translation] This will be a businesslike meeting where we should reach an agreement as to when the three countries' leaders will hold their summit meeting in Visegrad, where they are expected to sign a declaration on cooperation. Among the topics discussed will be the Warsaw Treaty and joining Europe.

[Forro] Does there not lurk behind the intention to leave the Warsaw Treaty the fear that the Soviet Union is now going to overrun the Baltic states and that afterward it will be the turn of the one-time socialist countries?

[Dienstbier] Such a fear is quite certainly not hiding behind this. For after all, at present neither in Europe nor in the Soviet Union is the situation such that the Soviet Union might carry out any kind of invasion in Central Europe.

Reagrding withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty, there is nothing new in this. I think people are wrong to link it with the events in the Baltics. We have been taking steps since July last year to dissolve the Warsaw Treaty, and what is more, to do it on the basis of a planned schedule.

The only problem is that since November this schedule has not worked. That is when the Political Consultative Body should have been meeting in Budapest, but it has been postponed several times at the request of the Soviet side. If we now devote particular attention to this issue, that is because in fact we are behind schedule. If we want to keep to the original schedule—namely, that the Warsaw Treaty's military oganization should cease to exist by July of this year—then we must really hold intensive discussions. [end recording]

Visegrad Ministers Summit Moved to Budapest

LD1901155991 Budapest MTI in English 1405 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—The Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Polish summit scheduled to have been held in Visegrad, Hungary, on Monday, January 21, has been postponed by the governments of the countries concerned.

On Monday, foreign ministers of the three countries are instead to discuss current issues of world politics in Budapest.

A common history and geographical proximity have naturally lent themselves to the idea of close cooperation between the three central European countries. The fundamental goals of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland are similar: to join Europe on the road of political independence and the market economy. There are arguments both for and against whether this should take place jointly, or separately. Hungary is firmly opposed to the substitution of the current, big bloc, with a ,small bloc, maintaining that blocs are always underpinned by the concept of an adversary. Hungary does not wish to be a member of any kind of anti-German or anti-Soviet pact.

At the same time, issues of both political and economic stability require regular, high-level consultations, at which the three countries can coordinate their positions and decisions. The central theme of the last foreign ministerial meeting on December 28 was the likely event of a mass exodus of Soviet refugees and its consequences, a matter of concern for all three countries. The conference to open on Monday is expected to deal with the Gulf war and the events in the Baltic states.

Hungarian, Polish, CSFR Foreign Ministers Meet

LD2101181491 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] The Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Polish foreign ministers have held successful talks in Budapest. Istvan Kulcsar reports:

[Kulcsar] Judging from the satisfied statements of the participants, today's Budapest meeting of the Hungarian, Polish, and Czechoslovak foreign ministers was successful, but the same cannot be said of the technology. Owing to technical—that is weather—conditions, the flight of Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski was three hours late, and the meeting was delayed for hours. For technical reasons, the journalists have not yet received the statement issued at the meeting, and for technical reasons, at the joint afternoon news conference held by the three foreign ministers, there were problems with the interpreting equipment and with the interpreters.

What can be said for sure, regarding the discussions today in Budapest between Geza Jeszenszky, Kryzysztof Skubiszewski, and Jiri Dienstbier is that they [word indistinct] laid the foundations for a new regional cooperation which, they said, does not contradict European integration; on the contrary, it helps the three participants in catching up with Europe.

The situation in the Baltics and the fate of the Warsaw Pact were discussed at the meeting, but independently of one another. Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia support the independence endeavors of the peoples of the Baltics, and they condemn intervention in their internal affairs.

Reagrding the military organization of the Warsaw Pact, in accordance with their previous plans, they wish this to be dissolved by the middle of this year, and they hope that agreement can be reached on this as soon as possible in the Political Consultative Committee.

The three foreign ministers also discussed the Gulf war. They again condemned Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and Israel.

They will agree the date for the Visegrad summit meeting by mid-February. As the Polish foreign minister said, the summit did not take place today owing to President Walesa's other engagements.

The foreign ministers were received early this afternoon by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

View Baltics, Gulf, Pact

LD2101194891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] At their meeting in Budapest, the Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Polish foreign ministers voiced their concern at the situation that had developed in the Baltics. They emphasized that the attempt to reverse the peaceful transition to legal statehood through force endangers the situation in Central and Eastern Europe. Their resolute opinion is that it is necessary to try to solve the conflict peacefully, and without violence.

In connection with the war against Iraq, the Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Polish foreign ministers emphasized: The occupation of Kuwait by Iraq is unacceptable. The ministers assured the allied forces of their full support, and they expressed their hope that the war in the Gulf will end as soon as possible.

The three countries' foreign ministers urge the soonest possible winding up of the Warsaw Pact. They wish to dissolve its military organisation by the earlier agreed time, that is, by July this year. They believe the complete termination of the Warsaw Pact could be realized by the end of the year, or next March. The Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Polish foreign ministers consider it necessary that the extraordinary session of the organization's Political Consultative Committee, which was postponed in the autumn, should be held by the end of February.

Skubiszewski on Results of Meeting

LD2101220991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2135 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] The meeting of foreign ministers of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary has ended in Budapest. Upon his return Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said:

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] We examined the issue of terminating the activity of the Warsaw Pact. This does not mean we have made a decision on this issue, because the matter needs to be resolved by a wider group, but we want to have, eventually, a meeting of the advisory committee taking place and making a decision on dissolving the military structures of the Warsaw Pact in six months time, following which the dissolution of the treaty will take place—I think with the agreement of all the six member states. Further, we have discussed all dangers and concerns which result from the situation in the Baltic republics, but we did not link this issue with the Warsaw Pact as these are completely different matters, and there was unity of views among us on this point.

We also discussed an issue that is very significant to the future of this region in the long term: the question of new treaties, and following this the new foundations for our bilateral relations. We also have a joint interest in the matter of our new agreements with USSR. This is something I agreed earlier with Minister Shevardnadze, that Poland would sign a new treaty with the USSR to replace the current alliance treaty that has been in force so far and is not suited to the present situation. [end recording]

SFRY Envoy to Egypt Holds Talks on Gulf

LD2001195191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 20 Jan 91

[Text] Cairo, 20 January (TANJUG)—The Egyptian foreign minister, Ismat Ahmad 'Abd-al-Majid, and the Yugoslav ambassador in Cairo, Ivan Ivekovic, met today and discussed the Gulf war.

For the most part, Majid and Ivekovic discussed a possible role for the Nonaligned Movement and Yugoslavia in preventing further devastation and seeking a way to implement the UN Security Council Resolutions. They stressed that the SFRY and Egypt maintain permanent consultations that help them coordinate their activities regarding the current situation in the Gulf.

The Yugoslav ambassador presented to the Egyptian Government the statements of Borislav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and the Federal Executive Council, about Yugoslavia's previous efforts to prevent the war from taking place and about current efforts to stop the hostilities and devastations that threaten world peace.

The anti-Iraq coalition countries, of which Egypt is an important member, uphold the view that the Iraqi President must demonstrate his readiness to fully and unconditionally withdraw from Kuwait and enable the return of legitimacy to this country, so in this context they look forward to any attempt to stop the war.

Baghdad Reply Awaited to SFRY Message

LD2301203891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1933 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, January 23 (TANJUG)—Iraq's top leadership has been informed about the activities of Yugoslavia, as the chair country of the Non-Aligned Movement, concerning the war in the Gulf but Baghdad has not yet replied to Yugoslavia's message, it was learned in the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat in Belgrade on Wednesday.

The secretariat does not rule out the possibility that Baghdad reply soon and says that Yugoslavia is flooded with messages from the world concerning the war in the Gulf, most of them expressing hope that it will end soon. All initiatives insist on an end to the war in the Gulf, and most of them set the condition that Iraq withdraw its troops from Kuwait or, as a minimum, announce that it will withdraw.

It was also learned in the secretariat that Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar received the latest message from Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati who suggests a meeting of a number of nonaligned countries to find a political settlement to the Gulf crisis. Iran has launched the idea about the Islamic countries' ministerial conference solely devoted to the war in the Gulf.

Loncar also received a message from the Kuwaiti foreign minister who insists on the strict implementation of all U.N. Security Council resolutions as a pre-condition to begin the settlement of the crisis.

SFRY Foreign Minister Sends Emissary to Gulf

AU2401153891 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 91 p 6

[M. Ka. report: "Yugoslav Emissary in the Gulf"]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 January—After constant telephone conversations and messages sent to colleagues in the Gulf via the Yugoslav embassies in these countries, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has also sent a personal emissary to this region. OSLOBODJENJE has learned from well-informed sources that Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic, until recently Yugoslavia's representative in the United Nations in New York, has just departed for the Gulf. It is not known which countries in the region Ambassador Pejic will visit, but it is almost certain that his high diplomatic standing and the fact that he even presided over the United Nations Security Council for a certain time will open many doors for him in the Gulf.

Ambassador Pejic is carrying a "message of peace" from the Yugoslav minister who is once again appealing to Iraq to do what could still lead to war operations being halted—to make the decision to withdraw from Kuwait. An appeal was also sent to the Israeli Government to hold back from responding to Iraq's rocket attack as this would lead to a further escalation of the war in the Gulf. It is expected that Ambassador Pejic will also have talks with ministers in the Arab countries in the region on the increasing number of initiatives for a temporary break in the conflict and the initiation of action for the peaceful resolution of the crisis in the Gulf.

Talks Used To Avert Strike at Elbasan Steelworks

AU2501092691 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 18 Jan 91 pp 1-2

[Tomor Jolldashi report: "Solution Achieved Through Dialogue"]

[Text] The petition arrived on the morning of 11 January. It was signed by dozens and hundreds of workers and metallurgists of the factory producing fire-resistant materials at the Steel of the Party Combine in Elbasan. The petition demanded the solution within three days to 12 points that involved the creation of independent trade unions, doubling wages, shorter working hours, a lower retirement age, improved working conditions, a revision of work norms because of deteriorating machinery, prophylactic medical treatment, etc.

The deadline for the petition: 1000 on 17 January 1991. After that the steelworkers would go on strike.

At precisely 1000 yesterday, a rally of steelworkers was held in the factory's main square with representatives from the Ministry of Light Industry, the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, the district Trade Union Council, and the combine's management. An open dialogue with logic and without passion took place. Was it in the workers' own interest to down tools and go on strike? Is not everyone living with the difficult economic situation through which our country is passing? Can a stroke of the pencil solve all the problems raised by the workers in their petition at once? Endless rhetorical questions were heard. Only one thing was clearly understood: A work stoppage and strike were in the interests neither of the workers nor of the factory. Our economy needs bricks and other fire-resistant materials, and needs them for export too. Any possible strike would, therefore, do great damage. This was the first thing which had to be, and was, considered. As a result, the workers decided not to go on strike. As was said during the discussion, however, some points of the petition could be solved with little difficulty and without further problems. For instance, it was decided to improve working conditions on the shop floor as soon as possible, to improve hygienic and sanitary conditions in the canteen, and to give prophylactic medical treatment to every worker. The factory agreed to provide work clothing, and, most important, it was agreed that the problem of bus transportation for workers was to be solved fast and once and for all. The two sides agreed that some other problems could not be solved instantly. For instance, an agreement was reached to study the problems of a wage increase, shorter working hours, and longer vacations. Everything is to be decided, and a reply given to the workers, before 1 May. As for the problem of turning the factory's professional committee into an independent trade union, this will be discussed at a conference of the factory's trade unions to be held shortly. The workers started work at once. The gigantic factory sprang to life, happy that constructive dialogue had solved everything.

Groups Attack Buses 'In The Name of Democracy'

AU2501095991 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Jan 91 p 1

[Gjovalin Memaj article: "Why Are These Persons Allowed To Harass the People?"]

[Text] If you talk to different people, they all talk about the democracy that is being developed by the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], the initiator of these processes. Not only the intellectuals, but the peasants, miners, and geologists at the foot of Munelle e Krrabit are in favor of pluralism of views and parties. It is regrettable, however, that there are also those who harass the people "in the name of democracy." At Mjede, a group of about 100 people, mainly young, went in front of and halted buses going to Puke, Bajram Curri, and Kukes. They stopped the buses and threatened the drivers: "Get rid of that slogan; get rid of that photograph;" they asked "What party are you with?," forced people to raise two fingers, and threw stones at the buses, broke windows, and put the lives of innocent passengers in danger. One group behaved in this way at Mjede, and another group in Fushe Kruje did the same thing to a car coming from Puke. People are frightened of this lawless "democracy." Pregnant women, small children, and others are terrified. People do not dare to speak on the buses. Tomorrow, they will not dare to travel even the shortest distance anywhere, not those who saw these sad events with their own eyes, nor their relations whom they told of these distressing things.

I set off to another town over some business, an occasion of sorrow or of joy, or to meet someone on government business, and unbalanced people waylay me on the road, break the windows of the bus, and imperil my life and that of my children. What is going on? Who is encouraging them, and whom does such behavior serve?!

No, this is not democracy. As an honest and innocent person, I do not waylay you in your car or at home. I do not check you and tell you not to paste up this photograph or that slogan. None of the programs presented so far by the different parties write about sorrow and vandalism. Civilized Europe would not allow such a thing, and certainly our people do not in any way approve of it. Is it not therefore high time for all parties to publicly dissociate themselves from such behavior, as the PPSh has done? There is no way in which we can allow feelings of fear to be aroused. Everything these people destroy, buses or cars, belongs to everybody. The people rightly demand the enforcement of the law against them, to ensure the peace necessary for the establishment of true democracy. Why then do the organizations for the maintenance of order and the enforcement of the law sit idle and watch?

Danger of Strikes, Inflation Examined

*AU2401183391 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian
17 Jan 91 p 1*

[Avdul Dule article: "An Inflation of Strikes"]

[Text] What is happening in Valias makes you think. I neither want to defend nor overlook the miners' demands. Not only because the law allows such gatherings, but because the miners, with their workers' hearts, could have had more to say before it came to such an outburst. As the people say, may it turn out for the best because... one hears people say that the bus drivers will strike too, and the Durres dockers, and the communal services workers, and... One of my colleagues said a half truth: "Let us journalists go on strike, too."

It is not therefore a question of just a single Valias. The majority of people, wherever they work, calculating their family budgets against the market, comparing themselves with the world, and noticing the polarization between different strata within the country, have both the moral and legal right to demand wage increases and better living standards. It seems to us, however, that this boiling point does not mean that more wood should be thrown on the fire, but less oil. It means we should restrain our feelings and passions. It means knowing when to demand one thing and when to demand another, because we rightly ask: If the Valias miners have the right, with much better conditions than many other miners, what about the smelters in blast furnaces, the cement workers, and the chemical workers? Because we are dealing with a national problem of increasing prosperity, we must look for a national solution, because we can do nothing without coal. We also need transportation. We need medicines, doctors' visits, and schools for our children!

We live in a single country and a single society. We have built it both for good and for ill. It is ours. We are truly experiencing major problems that could rebound on us with repercussions. They could rebound on us if demands for higher wages, a better life, and higher prosperity erupt throughout the country, whether rightly or not. Inflation of money, which genuinely exists and is being fueled by these wage increases after strikes, is nothing compared with an "inflation" of strikes. Faced with a national outburst, both those who increase the wages and those who receive increases are in the clear under the law. Are they in the clear regarding the future and the nation?

Anyone with a feel for logic, not only that of an ordinary economist but that of the most modest citizen or parent, knows where this "inflation" leads. The miners may have more justice on their side than most. Let us trust them; however, everybody now raises the question of justice. People talk about it at rallies, in the press, and on television. This is a good thing; however, limits are being overstepped: People are not working. Coal is not being mined. Woodpiles are being depleted, and shops emptied. People are leaving Sarande, Vlore, and Gjirokaster. Who, therefore, needs these pockets full of money, this bogus official alibi to appease people's legitimate demands?

We need many things. Mistakes have been made; however, it is now time to forgive them. It is now time to look reality in the eye. Now is not the time to pull the teeth from a worn-out horse, profiting from both official and popular insecurity. As if matters could be solved from above! Let us not forget what Walter Zell, president of the Rucker company, said: "Patience is necessary." Let us not forget our agreement with the Turks and Andreotti's message. Let us listen to and trust Comrade Ramiz Alia: "We have difficulties, but we will solve them ourselves," not with an inflation of money and strikes, but with labor, patience, and dignity. Let us turn to the wisdom of the people and the only wealth that we cannot deny that we have possessed: national dignity. Let us reclaim at least our spiritual wealth, because a disease first kills you materially, then spiritually. Let us beware of an "inflation" of strikes. This is the voice of the future. Let us listen to it and trust it, because it is the life of our children, whom we love so much and who expect so much from us.

PDSh Meets Carcani; Protests Media Coverage

*AU2301220191 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 2100 GMT 23 Jan 91*

[Text] At the seat of the Council of Ministers yesterday, Comrade Adil Carcani once again received Arben Imami and Bardhyl Reso, two representatives of the Democratic Party [PDSh], at their request. At this meeting, they raised problems to do with their party, mainly about the conduct of some rallies in the districts and the material conditions under which they work.

To the matters raised, Comrade Adil replied that there are no deviations in our press. It has only one standpoint, which is to rely rigorously on the laws in force. In practice, he stressed, as has also happened in other matters, there are bureaucratic activities and conservative elements which stand in the way. The government has been and remains committed to resolutely combating such things, which do not help to strengthen our law-governed state or serve the interests of the progress of the homeland.

In connection with the conditions in which the PDSh has held its rallies in some districts, the party's representatives observed that some, especially in Sarande, were not normal. Comrade Adil Carcani said that the majority of rallies had, in general, taken place normally. As for the demonstration in Sarande, he said that he had sought a report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The prime minister added that, according to the data in his possession, the rally organized by the PDSh had not taken place in accordance with the regulations for public gatherings recognized by the law. He mentioned cases of incidents created by groups taking part in this party's rally organized in the square in front of the Qemal Stafa Stadium in Tirana, in that in Lushnje, etc. The representatives of the PDSh deplored the incident that took place in Tirana, and said they dissociated themselves from it. Comrade Adil Carcani asked the PDSh to make this repudiation public.

In connection with the PDSh's request regarding the portrayal of the party's work on television, the prime minister stressed that the television had portrayed it correctly. If there had been weaknesses in the reporting of some rallies, this may have happened mainly as a result of the inadequate professional skills of the occasional district reporter, which generally harms the work of this institution.

The request that the television should allow for the expression of the views of political parties on current events, the prime minister replied that this issue is settled by the electoral law, and that the parties have been invited to speak on television

As for the request relating to the television editing of interviews with representatives of the PDSh, the prime minister said that he was not aware of any such cases. He said that editing for political purposes is inadmissible under any circumstances.

The representatives also submitted some other material demands relating to the conduct of the party's activities at the center and the base, besides those that have already been raised. The chairman of the Council of Ministers reported that the state organs have been instructed to ensure, within the current possibilities, the availability of premises, cars, telephones, typewriters, and office equipment for all parties and other political organizations both centrally and in the districts.

In conclusion, the prime minister stressed that the spirit of consensus and dialogue that was expressed in the joint call of the political parties and organizations should be put to the service of practical solutions to problems that emerge. This constructive attitude should be embraced by everyone at the center and the base, to strengthen the people's unity and to maintain the country's stability. He stressed that the PDSh may also contribute to avoiding strikes in the future according to the agreement reached among the political parties and organizations.

ShSSh Registers With Justice Ministry

AU2301213591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Today, on 23 January, Justice Minister Enver Halili summoned representatives of the Albanian Sociological Association [Shoqata Sociologjike Shqiptare] and informed them of the order for the approval of this association and its registration in the relevant register of the Ministry of Justice in accordance with Law No. 2,362 of 16 November 1956 on social organizations without economic aims.

This society has been created on the basis of the one-year-old activity of the Tirana sociological caucus. As a social and academic organization independent of political parties, it will aim to contribute to the study of different social phenomena and to present alternative solutions to problems of a sociological nature posed by our country's social development.

Cooperativists Seize Cows for Own Use

AU2401164891 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 17 Jan 91 p 1

[Klement Vido article: "Democracy Is Not Anarchy"]

[Text] The process of democratization in our country is an irreversible process; however, this does not mean that acts with nothing in common with democracy can be carried out in its name. Recently, in the agricultural cooperatives of Armen and Cerkovine in Vlore District, a group of cooperativists entered the cooperative's cowsheds, each took a cow, and drove them to their own homes. There is only one name for this act: anarchy. This is being intentionally encouraged by certain people, who still do not understand the essence of democracy. One cannot exclude the possibility that they include some individuals who want to put spokes in the wheel of democratic processes in our country. Group property is created on the basis of certain rules and criteria which the peasantry themselves approved. Those who do not bear this in mind are sowing disintegration and turmoil.

No one has banned discussion or statements of opinion about how collective property and personal property can best be combined to ensure the highest possible production. In the final analysis, what one or two individuals say cannot be taken into consideration. Every agricultural cooperative has an assembly that makes decisions as a body. Following the intervention of the state services in the district, the cows were returned to the cooperative's cowsheds. This presents a problem: What work are cadres and specialists doing to correctly explain democratic processes to the cooperativist masses?

Radio Reports Prayers Held in Tirana Mosque

AU1801145791 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Prayers were held for Muslim believers at the Tirana mosque at 1100 today. It was stressed at the service that democratic processes had made this possible. The need for peace, fraternity, love for one another, social justice, humanism, etc. was mentioned at the service. Love for the homeland, independence, and the country's integrity, were said to be sacred. The need for labor as the source of all good things was also emphasized, and vandalism and parasitism were condemned.

Problems on Road to Democracy Reported

AU2001155591 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
30 Dec 90 pp 2-4

[Kico Blushi article: "The Long Road to Democracy"]

[Text] In recent months, I happened to visit various towns, enterprises, and families and talked around coffee tables and at rallies. I did not shirk any conversation with acquaintances or strangers, people whom I had never seen and who did not know me: readers, people released from prison, retired people who until yesterday were indifferent but who now seem "ignited," corrupt people who pretend to be men of principle and hurry to congratulate you on some article castigating themselves (but who offer congratulations to rinse themselves clean), etc. etc. —in other words, everyone whom we call the mass (or crowd, but not the people.) They are all more interested than ever before in knowing something about the process of democratization, about tomorrow, and the future. All this tangle of opinions, rumors, serious but also extremist views, speculation, complexes, passions, and impatient desires at first fills you with enthusiasm, because you realize that a new mentality is not simply being formed out of the necessity for liberation and free pluralist thought, but because now absolutely nobody is indifferent to the future fate of the homeland. However, one tires after a time. It is not the earnestness and effort that tires you, but the extremism. An extremist is not only tiring and hard to deal with; he also rejects dialogue. He does not recognize or permit the tolerance that is the basic condition of democracy. An extremist thinks he knows everything himself and makes an indisputable rule out of rumors or inaccurate information. This category of person pretends to be a superdemocrat, but he in fact dreams of dictatorship. Some of them ascribe the occasional excess today to "concessions," or to "a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat:" i.e., no pluralism of thought or parties should be allowed. Others, at the other extreme, dream of a "settling of accounts," revenge, and blood—i.e., a dictatorship cloaked in the garb of democracy. The vision of an extremist, whether he wears a beret or the cap of the republic, blue jeans or a tie, is so dim that he not only does not and will not look back, but he does not analyze the present day with a cool head, either. As for the future, his view is essentially that of an anarchist, and anarchy, signs of which are now excessively evident, leads either to civil war or dictatorship. Anarchy puts the morality of society under the control of the incompetent, the lazy, and the parasites, those who want to overthrow the privileges of others to enjoy them themselves, if not worse. People of this kind thus have no national vision; their yardstick is their personal interests, which, when they are fulfilled, becomes a standard for measuring those of broader social circles. The incompetent or the failures seize the banner of democracy with great zeal, because they think democracy means a free and limitless scope for the spread of their "talents." These pitiful people forget that it was only the economic system of the past that invested in incompetence, paid for it, and even gave it incentives, and that democracy and pluralism open the way for the able and for them alone. It is very dangerous if failures hijack the banner of democracy, thinking that their political fever will distinguish them in the eyes of the nation. It seems to me that this new social disease among us—i.e. the danger of anarchy, especially in production, management, education, democratic thinking and theory, art, culture, politics, the understanding of debate, in the conception of the work of the organizations of internal affairs, in constructing a society governed by the rule of law, and in unwritten moral and social standards—is now an indisputable fact and a question that calls for explanation and solution. It is the wise men of the nation who must make their presence felt in solving these major problems and worries.

2. [no number one as published] What are the causes of the "outbreak" of corruption, the decline in labor discipline, the thefts of social property, the abuses and the psychology of "Get hold of what you can of what belongs to nobody?" Why do some people rush around to secure a passport to travel, to obtain a "guarantee," and to find work abroad as emigrants? Is the propaganda of our press media and mass organizations enough to uproot this phenomenon? Are measures of coercion necessary or is it more reasonable to open the borders? What can be done with people who ruin the economy, commit acts of sabotage, and break windows? How can we restore the market, where there are still irregularities, despite the efforts which have been made? Can foreign investment, credit, and a multiparty system alone solve these complex problems? How will we bring capable managing cadres to positions at all levels? Do we properly understand that, at present, the economic problem or, to put it bluntly, the problem of bread for our mouths, comes before everything else?

Many questions have been laid on the table, and others are no longer questions that merely languish in desk drawers and safes or in the archives of taboos. They call for a solution, and the times now call for the thinking of every person who calls himself a patriot, a citizen, and an Albanian to be weighed in the scales. Delay would sap confidence; haste would destroy our prospects. I fear that those who are burning bridges, who call for revenge, and who dream of the dictatorship of whatever party, help to destroy our prospects.

Anyone who provokes bloodshed now shoulders a heavy historical responsibility. The tragedy would be that of the entire nation.

This tragedy, put in plain Albanian, would mean:
A step backward, to dictatorship.
Europe closing its doors on us.
Albanian blood flowing in rivers.

It would mean forgetting that our country is the smallest and historically most unfortunate in Europe, and that now more than ever, or rather now or never, it is up to us to correct the mistakes of history with wisdom, embarking on the long road of democracy with the dignity proper for an Albanian. No individual, no political personality of whatever rank, and no political party has or can have the right to override the national cause. We do not need "idols with feet of clay," but people of wisdom.

We do not need "armchair-holders" and careerists, but skilled and determined managers. I am convinced that our people possess these intellectual forces and will be able to find the rational road of understanding and national trust.

Every sound mind realizes that the new economic mechanism, although it may at the start bring some rational solutions to the questions above, is not, of course, a "magic wand" that will pile our plates with beefsteak within a short time. It is not merely utopian, but a dangerous lie to sow among the people the illusion that foreigners, out of mercy or sentimentalism, will sign checks and rescue us from the crisis. Let us sit, then, and enjoy ourselves, and let someone else pay.... Nobody in the world pays for sloth and incompetence. We have paid for this great sin and are clearing ourselves of it. The main magic of the economic reform will be in solving the cadre problem; only able people will gain, people who work to standards and who produce. But how? Nobody will give up his armchair of his own accord, still less when it involves material benefits and privileges. Nor will a worker consent to remaining unemployed for the sake of the economic mechanism. No one, however self-aware he may be, will accept being called "technologically superfluous." No one will admit he is incompetent. It is the incompetent who preach most of all against incompetence. They cry "catch the thief," and "Long live democracy!" They may sincerely believe that under a different system they would have become, if not distinguished people, at least rich. It is no sin to harbor illusions; it is a sin to have none. The main sin is to blame others for your own inability and impotence, for which there is no cure under any social climate or system. People of this kind, to make up for their sense of inferiority, pretend to be martyrs, victims, and persecuted heroes of democracy, forgetting that they themselves ate from the pot with both hands, denouncing, abusing, slandering, taking the lead in euphoric propaganda, writing anonymous letters, and defending academic theses and gaining titles which helped only their authors and not society, who profited from the privileges of their fathers and uncles or from their servility to different managers....

None of this is forgotten when "the page is turned," or, as the poem runs, you go to bed as a frog and wake up as a prince. Nothing can be hidden. You cannot evade the eye and memory of the people forever. Should we open these "account books" now? There are more important and vital matters to settle. Let us not forget that we are very poor: Our shops are emptying, and we cannot graduate from the school of democracy overnight. The sense of revenge, envy, personal spite, and narrow interests could dispel every illusion of democracy. Anyone who considers himself honest must realize this. The new times, the new mentality, the new economic mechanism, and genuine democracy call for new people; however, they are not appearing. Many factors prevent them from attaining leading positions. The main reason is not that those who hold their "armchairs" will not surrender them of their own accord, but that a shadow of "distrust" hangs over young people, the shadow of their "biography" and the long practice, in every field, of failing to systematically prepare the younger generation to regularly take over from others. Such impoverishment is evident in science, art, culture, the economy, politics, diplomacy, and management in general. This "shortage" is such a complicated matter that even when an "objective" chance for renewal is created (by sickness, death, or public scandal!), it seems impossible to find new people to assume high offices. This is a very grave consequence of waging the class struggle in cadre questions. The principle of trust and distrust has been used to maintain in their posts certain people, families, or social circles.

A manager cannot be trained in a single day or a year. Even when a young person fails, it is not his fault, but that of the "school," in the broadest sense of the term, which has trained him and is still training the managers of the future. A college diploma or a diploma from the party school, which is called higher education, must no longer be considered sufficient for a manager of whatever rank. Not simply his main biographical data, but his talent, must be tested in life and practice, which is where ability, maturity, moral responsibility, and human dignity are shown. Unfortunately, those who "forge ahead" are the servile careerists, who are easily subjugated, who bend over backwards, and who have no views of their own to sacrifice. The acceptance of a multiparty system is undoubtedly a sure bridge to cross the gulf that keeps able people out of society. It must now be made perfectly clear that the future will belong not just to the party with a fine program (in general, all programs are fine on paper), but to the party which fulfills its program, moves from words to deeds, and is able to bring able and honest people forward—people with ideals and up-to-date thinking.

3. We have recently been talking a lot about pluralist thinking and debate in the press. We hear and read in the newspapers about interesting, but also extreme views. It does not take much to understand that there can be no genuine democracy without debate. How far should this debate go? Do we have legally sanctioned standards for the press? What status should our press have in a multiparty system? What position should editorial boards and journalists themselves have? If, from now on, some social organizations will be independent bodies, does not this also mean that their press will have the same status? Of course. If this is the case, and it is, does a journalist have the right to criticize a holder of high office, or the leader of a district or an important ministry? In principle, this must be so, and it is the case. Whether we like it or not, a new reality is facing our press with the publication of the newspapers of other parties. The opposition paper will spare no one. Journalists and

editors and even the public itself are unprepared for this new kind of culture that is knocking at our door. Thus, not merely the abilities but the professional honesty of those working in the press will be put to the test; however, it must be admitted that journalists are still burdened by old stereotypes. The main thing is that the press and journalists still have no definite legal status. The old-fashioned law on what constitutes a secret has done damage to public information. In practice, journalists have been punished when they have "touched" the preserve of an important official. The status of a journalist presupposes that a journalist will be protected by the law and freed from the "shadow" of the names of different personalities in culture, science, or society, from the mania for "secrets," and from party pressures, except when the newspapers are direct party organs. This does not at all mean that a journalist is untouchable or omnipotent. As a public person of very specific importance, a journalist must be accountable to the law, and criminally responsible, not when he criticizes or exposes defects which really exist, but when he lies, deceives, slanders, creates false opinions, or reveals what are really state secrets, thus damaging national interests. To whom should a journalist be responsible? Of course, to the law and the public, and, administratively, to a collegium of the relevant newspaper. In particular cases, where the editorial board or the chief editor himself are involved, these latter must be answerable to the point of dismissal or other measures to a collegium of democratically elected journalists. The Union of Journalists must assume another role. I think the new constitution now in preparation should include laws on the press. I consider this necessary because the kind of decentralization now taking place in the press involves a new phenomenon. Press publications are dependent solely on institutions, local newspapers on party committees, and publications on the relevant organizations and administrations. More specifically, can the newspaper MESUESI criticize the Education Ministry, PUNA the Central Council of the Trade Unions, or a local journalist a first secretary who has not, for instance, acted on a certain decision? This so far does not happen at all, because journalists as a nomenklatura, a body, and a "personnel-list" depend on the administration and on office-holders who have no reason to appreciate criticism and pluralist thinking. There should be no nomenklatura or party hierarchy where the press is concerned. If a cooperative is not going well, brigadier so-and-so is not to blame; if a ministry underperforms, it is not just a director of a directorate who is to blame, but the minister; if the market in a district is stagnant, despite repeated pledges and decisions made at plenums, it is not merely the trade official who is to blame, but the chairman of the executive committee.... We must all be equal before the law, both shepherds and chairmen, managers and ministers, and the chairman of an executive committee the same as a first secretary.

All political participants must bow to the honesty of the press, as if before the conscience of the nation. Servility, defensiveness, taboos, and restrictions on the range of criticism are not solely a question of ethics and "unwritten" rules that are more dangerous to break than written laws. At our present stage, we must consider the possibility of laying down a press law, not only to avoid excesses in the press, but because the long road of democracy cannot be paved without establishing legal guidelines for the press and for debate. The first thing the multiparty system will do is to open the doors to the press and to freedom of speech and opinion. The seriousness of this "opening" will show how serious we are in the cardinal issue of democracy. If the press degenerates and falls into the traps of slander, rumor, personal mudslinging, rumors, insults, and name-calling, it will discredit itself and the ideal of democracy.

4. The economic problem heads all discussions. Mistakes have been made, and are now admitted. The new mechanism now being introduced is bringing new problems connected with efficiency, the value of goods, wages, prices, unemployment, etc. A thinking person realizes that you can become confused in solving acute issues by falling into the trap of analyzing the mistakes of the past. It is similarly naive, however, to think that if we are given credit and if foreign investment arrives, as it increasingly is arriving, the menu at our tables will change and we will swim in plenty. I am no economist, and I was not distinguished in this subject at school. As a citizen, however, let me voice a few opinions, although they may show some misunderstanding or error. I will try to use facts.

I saw on our television news one evening that some women working for a foreign firm in a factory in Shkoder earn 1,200 new leks a month. Very nice! It is similar in Tirana, Durres, Korce, etc. I became interested and asked how much a foreign firm pays our work force for eight hours. They told me, between $5.60 and $10 per worker. Is this normal? Should our work force be sold so cheaply when, as far as I know, unskilled labor even in totally undeveloped countries is not so poorly paid? Let us leave this issue to turn to the following analysis. I happened to have lunch one day with a foreigner at our main hotel, the Dajti. At the present rate of $1 to 15 leks, a foreigner can dine very well for two or three dollars, or 30-50 leks. Meanwhile, you cannot sit down for a coffee in a third-rate cafe anywhere in Europe for less than two dollars. Let us say that a foreign firm with a couple of barges comes to a self-financing cooperative in Korce and bargains as follows: How much is a kilogram of onions or peppers? How much is a kilogram of oranges in Sarande or Vlore? Here are the market prices: three leks a kilogram. The foreign firm says to the cooperative: I will pay double, sell them to me! Of course the cooperative will sell them, especially because foreign currency is involved, besides a doubled price; however, the firm has bought the apples or oranges for between one-third and one-half of a dollar (on the basis of our exchange rate), which on the foreign market is dirt cheap. Abroad, you cannot find apples or potatoes on the market for less than four to five dollars, while here they cost a few cents. The evil is that not only is our market being emptied, but that it seems to me that we are selling our labor and goods very cheaply, which does a great deal of harm. A specialist could counter the examples I have given with a "plan" for the convertibility of our currency. It would be absurd to ask for such a thing now, with our present currency, technology, and exporting power on foreign markets. A first step, however, would be to peg as far as possible the value of our currency to a hard currency. We must at least start to think hard about this, because the way we are going now, we are not only heading for ruination and the collapse of our balance of payments, but basic foodstuffs in which the state invests at a loss, such as rice, sugar, cooking oil, etc., are vanishing "like snow in summer." Soon, even the infant private market will be threatened. If a private butcher sells meat at 30 leks, this is two dollars—a better price than can be found anywhere in the world. What is to be done about this problem?

Our currency cannot be pegged to a hard currency without a fundamental revision of the wages and prices system. This must even be the starting point for solving the aforementioned problems, which are of major or even decisive national importance, and, because the economic reform and the new economic mechanism must start precisely with a reform of the wages and prices system, for establishing a more realistic rapport between our currency and hard currency. I have the impression, which may be mistaken, that the necessary equilibrium between these principal links of wages, prices, and hard currency, which would lead to important economic change, has still not been found.

Because we say that labor discipline has declined, we hold meetings and aktivs, level criticism and self-criticism, dismiss managers and appoint new ones, hold rallies with public declarations, draw up programs, and so forth, but still the "miracle" does not happen; and it will not happen until the basic levers of wages, prices, and foreign exchange are moved. Let me ask some questions: Is it normal for a worker who works in a plant for a foreign firm to earn a higher wage than a manager, a chief engineer, or another worker who works in another plant, but not for a foreign firm? (Remember what I mentioned before, about how we are selling our work force and goods!) Of course, I am not saying that workers who work for foreigners should earn less, but I say that wages should be balanced, and that prices should be studied and economic logic used in these relations which are basic to every family and every society. Social equality should not be allowed to be upset. Of course, I am not at all saying that social equality should degenerate into egalitarianism. I think that in these matters not only the Bank, the State Planning Commission, the Wages and Prices Committees, and other state organisms, but the laws also should be set in motion with speed and skill for the sake of the national cause and the people, who, as is evident, can stand no more stagnation and fruitless "experiments."

Only a healthy economy can bring a healthy democracy. If we fail to understand that without strengthening the economy and without maintaining and reinforcing social and personal property, without ensuring a well-stocked market, without eliminating the alienation to which intellectuals and especially ordinary people are prone, and without preventing the acts of destruction and sabotage that have been committed recently by some anarchists, we will wittingly or unwittingly smother the infant of democracy in its cradle.

Whoever is truly reasonable and loves this country and people in his heart must realize that we have no surplus blood to shed and are not rich enough to even buy "glass" for the new building of democracy, which is unfortunately suffering attacks even from those who out of "love" or "political fever" are embracing it so hard that they may strangle it.

Extremists and radicals must realize, before it is too late, that civil war would be a real catastrophe for a country like ours. Our home must not be totally destroyed. It is winter, a real winter. We have neither the physical nor material resources to build a new house. We must now repair the roof and the windows from which we will have a view of Europe, so our children will not freeze and the infant of democracy will not freeze. We therefore need political wisdom, tolerance, dialogue, understanding, unity, and confidence so our country will show itself worthy of tomorrow.

5. When we had only one party, we always talked about party-people unity. Under the new conditions of the multiparty system we will have a new array of forces and other political groups. The new elections will be a test untried for 45 years. We know these things, but I would like to draw attention to another key and vital problem, that of national unity.

National unity is no longer a tennis court on which politicians may play and earn applause. It does not take much to realize that national unity is a highly dramatic issue today. I would rather not explain why national unity is so important now; however, I wish to say that, as far as I know from history, our nation has been destroyed at crucial historical moments by the exceptionally primitive and prefeudal psychology of certain leaders who have placed regional interests, if not their personal interests, before national unity. This has led to tragic national failures. Let us remember Ali Pasha Tepelene and the Bushatllis, Ismail Qemali and the government of Esad Pasha, and let us not forget Zog against Noli, not to speak of our own days, when some cadres, as soon as they have become important, have gathered around themselves their subordinates from their region. Our society and state have not passed through the various natural stages of many European nations. Not only the bourgeoisie, but even feudalism failed to flourish and mature as it did in many other countries. Until recently, we understood social relations, and perhaps out of inertia continue to do so, as clan relations, and thus also as regional relations. Those people, especially intellectuals, who in today's civilization sing hymns to one region or another and disparage others are primitive and pitiful.

It is true that lately, too late, we have started to talk about the rule of law. It must not be forgotten, however, that we were the last nation in Europe to create our nation state; furthermore, when it was created in 1912-1913 it was confined to a formal existence and was truncated not only for external but internal reasons, because of regionalism and the tribal chief [bajraktar] mentality from which some leaders have still not freed themselves. Relationships between the individual and the state are not uncommonly conceived as relationships between the individual and the clan, the individual and the family, and the individual and his personal interests. The lack of a long state tradition and the insidious pressure of various managers who placed personal or regional interests above national unity have done considerable harm to ardent feelings of patriotism. From now on, we will not allow, forgive, or tolerate attempts to kill this noble and exclusive feeling of patriotism or its misuse for personal interests.

Individual careerism is less dangerous than regionalism, not only because the former is more short-lived, but because the serious social infection of regionalism causes political epidemics with extensive repercussions. Under the new conditions of a multiparty system, therefore, national unity could be imperiled if our old disease of power struggle is revived, nourished and inflated by a spirit of regionalism. True democracy would quickly denounce such atavism. If this disease is revived now, it will strike an extremely serious blow to national unity at an extremely sensitive moment, when, as is known, we are still a nation, and a historically tragic nation, divided in two.

6. The role of the intellectual at the present stage is under extensive discussion. Fortunately, our intelligentsia are sufficient in numbers and in maturity and honesty to meet the challenges of the times. Their commitment in articles and discussions shows this. The creation of the Democratic Party and the student movement is a serious test of this; however, the time has come for us to leave behind theories about the role of the intellectual and to try to find concrete solutions in the fields we work in. Let us not deal with trivialities and secondary matters. Let us put to one side our squabbles, arguments, careerism, and our desire to "seize the flag." If you have committed sins, no speech, act of hara-kiri, or pose of martyrdom or of yearning for democracy will save you. Genuine democracy does not seek redemption from sins or a settling of accounts, but calls for concrete, rational, and honest solutions from everyone. It demands our daily contribution. Let us make this contribution with generous hearts and tolerance. Time will not wait! Tomorrow may be too late. Albania can no longer become the property of a single person or a single party, but neither must it become a political arena for blind ambitions for power.

We are embarking on a new life; therefore, let us help each other so tomorrow we will not be ashamed in front of the nation and the generations to come. This is the dialogue and the unity which is called for.

Internal Affairs Ministry on 'Illegal Acts'

AU1901201591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Jan 91

[Text] Our press services have recently criticized the behavior of various elements which, allegedly in the name of democracy, have committed illegal acts and troubled the people. In this connection, the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs explains:

The concern of citizens over the acts that have been mentioned and other similar behavior is legitimate. The organs for the maintenance of order have acted whenever denunciations have been received, and results have shown that some of these elements have been previously sentenced for various criminal acts. The view that all parties should dissociate themselves from such acts seems to us very appropriate. The organs for the maintenance of order have taken and will take measures to respond in time to prevent these illegal acts. In those places where the forces of order are not present, they will act immediately after receiving denunciations from citizens.

Border Crossing Dispute With Greece Continues

AU2301135491 Tirana ATA in English 0959 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Tirana, January 22 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Ministry of the Interior Isuf Baca, explained that the Greek frontier authorities continue to hand over Albanian citizens that have crossed the border illegally. On January 22, 1991 the Greek side handed over 1,800 persons in the border posts of Kapshtica, Kakavije, Qafebote and Kataeto. In the meeting between the Albanian and Greek frontier authorities, the Greek partry stated that it will continue to hand over other citizens who have crossed the border illegally.

PRC Reportage on Malile's Visit to China

WA2401132491

For reportage on Foreign Minister Reis Malile's visit to the PRC, including coverage of his talks with Chinese Premier Li Peng and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, see the 23 January International Section of the China DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

POGLED: Allied Gulf Operations Justified

AU2401134091 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 3, 29 Jan 91 p 7

[Encho Gospodinov commentary: "War"]

[Text] At last the war has begun, marking the end of many things. To those who believed that it would be averted, it offered a bitter cup; for Saddam, it offered a chance to prove that Hitler and hero status were not alien to him; for Bush, it marked the end of his torments and gave him an opportunity to assume his role as leader of the free world; for Gorbachev, it meant that he was more alone than ever, immersed in the chaos of his paralyzed gigantic country.

The war also marked the end of the attempts by all journalists or diplomats to play the role of Cassandra by offering guesses on when war would break out, and it made fools of most of them. On the plane to Geneva, an experienced politician from James Baker's team wagered that the talks between the secretary of state and Tariq 'Aziz would last only 27 minutes. He lost a lot of money. Afterward, we were all losers, including the East European democracies, which can hardly hope that the West's billions will start to flow to them after the war.

Despite the euphoria over the allies initial military successes, the next few days brought a more sober mood. Confirmation came of the first reports of "our losses," not only "theirs," if we differentiate between the warring parties in such a stereotyped way. The families of the soldiers in the Saudi desert felt the tears welling up more often than they expected. The oil and gold prices on the exchanges and the currency exchange rates started to leap madly, in time with the cannonade in the Gulf.

Yet, however sad the fact of such a war may be, one cannot avoid drawing historical parallels, as well as lessons. This is not a war waged by crusaders intent on liberating Jerusalem, although Saddam has claimed that one of his conditions is that the Palestinians should be given back their homeland. The methods by which he has done everything have only made the Palestinians' dreams more remote.

Saddam could easily have played his cards and won a lot, if he had withdrawn from Kuwait only two hours before the start of this war, which had been announced in advance. Then he could have obtained the two strategic islands, plus probably a hundred or so billions to pay the debts accumulated from his other senseless war with Iran. He missed the opportune moment to strike the deal, and therefore lost.

One must acknowledge one thing regarding the United States, regardless of all the arguments about its personal interests in the war: It did assume world responsibility. Bush took an immense burden onto his shoulders, namely, not to repeat the mistake of more than half a century ago, when the world missed the chance to unite and stop Hitler. It was impossible to commit this mistake again now, especially when the outlines have emerged of a new world order, a united Europe, and a world ruled by law; and allow an irresponsible man like Husayn to occupy his neighbors in broad daylight. What will happen if this man acquires an atomic bomb in five years time? What if he already has the bomb? Moreover, will not we see the appearance of new Saddam imitators following his example as a naughty boy who escaped punishment? Lastly, how can 60 percent of the world's oil reserves be left in the hands of this immensely dangerous man?

America may indeed have its own interests in the region. This is understandable for any superpower. It did not hesitate, however, to make the necessary self-sacrifice. Just as in World War I and II, many of its sons came to faraway Europe to fight for moral principles, and not for "General Motors."

Only a few months have passed since the 34 leaders of Europe, the United States, and Canada put an end to the Cold War on the old continent, and the hatred and sick ambitions for supereminence shifted to other geographical latitudes. A war of super-technologies began, mixed with faith in Christ, Muhammed, and Judas. By launching his attack on Israel, Saddam invited his ancient enemy to fight him, and sowed discord in the allies' fragile coalition, where certain Arabs suddenly found themselves in the same camp as their archenemy Israel. There are indeed no limits to absurdity, especially when it is stirred up by insane people.

In these difficult days for the world, we Bulgarians were made to realize yet again what it means to be weak. In addition to the historic rediscovery of the wheel that we recently made, we now also have to rediscover gas masks, or rather the fact that we do not have enough of them. At the same time, albeit perhaps with a touch of theatrics, Israel loudly announced to the world that it is beginning to issue gas masks to all the Palestinians in the occupied territories—a doubly bitter irony.

Whatever happens from now on, the world will no longer be the same. Some of the borders in the Middle East may be redrawn. Perhaps one day someone will really consider the fate of the luckless Palestinians, who have been forced into the game in such cruel manner, with no solution in sight.

Despite the cost of this war, despite the casualties, one thing is absolutely certain: Violence has received a worthy response. In the democratic world, morality has proved to be alive and well; and this is a good thing, because Saddam is not the only one who has to be tamed....

Zhivkov, Balev Trial To Open 25 February

AU2501115191 Sofia BTA in English 1113 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The Supreme Court of the Republic announced that the first hearing of Public-Law Criminal Case No. 1/1990 against Todor Khristov

Zhivkov and Milko Kalev Balev has been scheduled for 9:30 AM on February 25, 1991.

The indictment against the former Number One and his closest aide was submitted to the Supreme Court on December 7, 1990. Todor Zhivkov was charged with exceeding his authority and rights while in office as head of state and BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leader between 1962 and November 10, 1989, with acquiring for himself and his friends and relations property worth more than 26,500,000 leva, and with allowing the top nomenklatura the unwarranted purchase of flats, motor cars and weekend houses at giveaway prices.

The first public prosecutors in the case said this was one of the few precedents in which the investigation started without any documentary evidence, under pressure from the public and the political forces. Under various pretexts, attempts have been made to interfere with the work of the Prosecutor's Office. One of the prosecutors left the investigation after a car crash and another removed himself from the case for health reasons. The six-month-long investigation compiled a record of 108 volumes of 200 pages each. The investigation was completed last June and the indictment was drawn up.

A journalist wrote recently in one of the national dailies that in all likelihood Zhivkov will be sentenced to an imprisonment of 3 years and 10 months.

Today's "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" reported that Todor Zhivkov's friends and relations have accused the Prosecutor's Office of malpractice. They objected to the press disclosures on proceedings initiated in the matter of the Citizens Ownership Act which, while corresponding to the truth, allegedly degraded their reputation and gave rise to unwarranted public discontent. Such misappropriation proceedings have been initiated against Zhivkov's son and grand-daughter, against General Velko Palin, former chief of the Military Department of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, against General Dobri Dzhurov, former minister of national defence, against General Dimitur Stoyanov, former minister of internal affairs, against Aleksandur Lilov, the incumbent BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] leader, and others.

Zhelev Supports Government Program Declaration

AU2401111191 Sofia BTA in English 1015 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—In a statement made for the SVOBODEN NAROD paper President Zhelyu Zhelev defined the program declaration of the government presented yesterday by Prime Minister Dimitur Popov in parliament as thorough, comprehensive and exhaustive.

According to Dr. Zhelev the program declaration proves the country has a strong government which is ready to start the reform. It is the president's opinion that the government will have enough time for doing it as the laws necessary for the elections have not been passed yet, therefore they cannot be held at an early date.

Dr. Zhelev has doubts as to the practical implementation of the agreement reached by the main political forces to hold general elections by the end of May and points out they would have to be postponed.

The president calls upon the Bulgarian Parliament "not to enter into too much detail" when discussing the program declaration because "Bulgaria's downward slide" would be hopeless if the economic reform is not started at once. Things would get even worse if there are political speculations and dividend-seeking by "stinging" the government. Now this would be a very easy, but useless and even harmful thing to do, Dr. Zhelev warns in conclusion.

BSP Parliamentary Group News Conference Report

AU2201180691 Sofia BTA in English 1715 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—Socialist MP's [member's of parliament] today promised exciting time in parliament when they ask the deputy prime minister Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev certain questions about the development of Bulgaro-Turkish relations. They also plan to ask questions about the delivery of a U.S. aid package of 100,000 tonnes of forage maize. BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] MP's claim that the aid is contingent on the shipment of another 800,000 tonnes on a commercial basis.

At a news conference here today, the BSP parliamentary faction blamed the Bulgarian ambassador in Washington for agreeing to the shipment of U.S. corn on what they described as "humiliating terms".

The attack, obviously targeted at the opposition, came in retaliation for questions raised about the supply of Soviet oil to Bulgaria, allegedly at prices much higher than the international ones. The socialist MP's said that these questions should be put straight to the government. Along with that, they explained that the Council of Ministers had considered the matters and there was no evidence of terms tantamount to economic bondage.

The BSP MP's denied that their party is going back to the Soviet orbit, as alleged by the Union of Democratic Forces. The BSP believes that raising such questions merely seeks external arguments to solve internal problems.

The MP's said they were understanding and cautious about the lifting of price and interest rates controls planned by the government as a crisis-management measure. They said that the raising of interest rates on housing credits may explode the civil society which is now emerging in this country. They did not rule out the possibility that the government may pressure parliament to pass the bills or face a cabinet resignation.

The socialist MP's obviously do not plan to give up the nomination of ex-prime minister Andrey Lukanov for chairman of the Grand National Assembly Committee on Foreign Policy which outraged the opposition.

The participants in the news conference highlighted the constitution draft approved by the Socialist Party's Supreme Council. They stressed that its framers have made extensive use of foreign experience and have taken into account Bulgarian political traditions. Under the draft, a head of state would be elected directly by popular vote but this does not imply presidential rule. State intervention in public life would be limited.

Latest Figures on BSP Members Provided

AU2001210091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Jan 91 p 2

[Angel Bonev report: "The Influx of Young People Increases"]

[Text] A total of 412,022 Socialists confirmed their Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] membership by 15 January 1991. The party has increased by 39,000 people since the beginning of 1991.

According to data submitted to the organizational department of the BSP Supreme Council, the greatest increase of members was marked in the country's large industrial centers. A total of 63,480 Socialists have re-registered in Sofia for example; 13,335 in Varna; 11,500 in Burgas; 10,613 in Stara Zagora; 8,320 in Plovdiv; 6,600 in Pleven; 3,600 in Gabrovo; 2,920 in Gorna Oryakhovitsa, and 2,600 in Kurdzhali.

Membership renewal has also increased in the circles of the scientific-technical and aristic-creative intelligentsia. The influx of young people eager to join the BSP is increasing at the same time. An analysis of available data shows that male party members exceed female members by approximately 20 percent. Socialists between the ages of 30 and 50 are 32 percent of the total number, while the situation in the capital is different—in Sofia only 30 percent of the members who have obtained new membership cards are pensioners. A total of 43 percent of BSP members are high school, or university graduates, while 882 party members in Sofia are doctors and candidates of sciences.

Municipal party councils in the capital and in all major cities of the country are opening permanent offices where until the end of January 1991 they will answer all questions and proposals submitted to the BSP Supreme Council and to the daily DUMA in connection with the renewal of membership cards. In general lines the re-registration process should be concluded by the end of January 1991, but in special cases it might continue after 1 February 1991.

National Assembly Session Described as 'Futile'

AU2501080791 Sofia BTA in English 2312 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—MP's and journalists call today's parliamentary session futile.

Over three hours were lost in discussing the agenda. Then over four hours were devoted to the ex-prime minister, Socialist Andrey Lukanov's personality. This evening he heard more accusations than he did in November when he was forced to resign under the pressure in and outside the parliament.

The parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] insists on entrusting the Committee on Foreign Policy to Mr. Lukanov. The entire opposition—the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms—does not want the ex-prime minister to keep representing Bulgaria in the world.

After Lukanov ruined the state with its two cabinets, he is about to ruin the parliament as well, said the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] spokesman Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev in the lobby. Despite the continuous invitations of the MP's Mr. Lukanov did not take the floor.

There is some talk in the lobby that today the BSP tactically "took in" the opposition by ruining the debates on important bills.

Reproaches towards the parliament have become frequent. This evening on the TV the leader of the independent trade unions Dr. Krustyu Petkov voiced his concern that the futile parliamentary days and the conjuncture interests of certain political forces may spoil the economic reform.

The debates on the "Lukanov case" continued after 22 hours local time.

Spokesman: Attacks on Presidency Worry Zhelev

AU1801151591 Sofia BTA in English 1443 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev is disturbed by events which may be qualified only as an attack on the presidential institution, Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, chief of the President's Office, told journalists today.

He called a slander a reader's letter published in "DUMA" accusing the president of prejudging issues of paramount importance for the nation such as the Black Sea zone and the study of the Turkish language in Bulgarian schools.

President Zhelev is also disturbed by the campaign around Simeon II, Mr. Trifonov said. The journalists were reminded that the 1946 referendum which proclaimed Bulgaria a republic was recognized by the old parties, now members of the UDF [Union of Democratic

Forces]. The results of the referendum were not disputed by the commission of the allies. The issue of the form of government will be settled by the new constitution which the parliament is to adopt. Everything else is seeking unrealistic solutions to the problems, Mr. Trifonov said.

Lukanov Elected Assembly Foreign Policy Chariman

AU2501103791 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Late last night parliament elected the ex-prime minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov chairman of the Grand National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Policy.

He was the only nominee for the job but got it after a day-long debate. Despite the repeated objections to the motion from the parliamentary opposition (the Union of Democratic Forces SDS, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, BZNS, and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms DPS), the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] majority pushed through Mr. Lukanov's election. Not a single SDS MP voted for Mr. Lukanov, and some fellow Socialists also denied him their support. After the election, representatives of the SDS, the BZNS and the DPS declared they were withdrawing from the Foreign Policy Committee.

"To me Andrey Lukanov is a criminal, and I have the testimony of a person involved in Lukanov's criminal dealings," Mr. Yanko Yankov, a lawyer and the only MP for the Liberal Party Congress (formerly Social Democratic Party—Non-Marxists), told parliament last night. He named the person as Aleksandur Borislavov Aleksiev and claimed that the Kintex company was involved in Mr. Lukanov's "criminal dealings." Even before the nomination was put to the vote, Mr. Yankov said he had incriminating evidence on the former prime minister. Despite the urgent insistence of the parliamentary opposition to give Mr. Yankov the floor, he got it only after the vote.

Yesterday Mr. Lukanov heard himself called "shameless" and "head of the Soviet octopus in Bulgaria" from the chamber floor. The former prime minister was repeatedly accused that he was selling the national interests and that the two governments he headed did nothing to prevent or mitigate the current state of the country. The opposition stressed that a person responsible for the country's foreign debt and for the disastrous attachment of the Bulgarian economy to the Soviet economy cannot chair the Foreign Policy Committee.

"Today the BSP committed a political suicide but once again dealt a deadly blow to the Bulgarian people by closing Bulgaria's road to Europe," said Mr. Stefan Savov MP of the SDS.

Opposition MP's moved that Mr. Lukanov himself address parliament on his nomination, but he declined. He told the press in the lobbies that he did not intend to withdraw his nomination. The previous committee chairman Mr. Aleksandur Strezov resigned for reasons which were not disclosed, but off-the-record sources claimed that the BSP parliamentary faction nominated Mr. Lukanov without giving Mr. Strezov an advance notice and before he handed in his resignation.

Opposition Blames 'Nomenklatura' for Shortages

AU2201133691 Sofia BTA in English 1309 GMT 22 Jan 91

["Will Total Shortages Heat Up Political Situation?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—To buy one or two litres of milk the inhabitants of Sofia have got to queue up at three o'clock at night and, having waited for four hours at a temperature of 10 centigrade below zero, they often go back home without the thing they yearned so much for. Only the most tenacious early risers manage to get some milk—for four months now the capital of Bulgaria, which has a population of one million people, has been receiving less than one-third of the required milk from the provinces. All shops selling foodstuffs in Sofia and in the other big cities are practically empty. According to the specialists of the provisional municipal government of Sofia sugar will last out for only ten days, rice and vegetable oil—until the end of February. At the same time almost everything can be bought in the black market at prices which are ten or fifteen times higher than those subsidized by the state.

In Plovdiv, the second biggest city here, 160 thousand people are left without any heating because there is no fuel oil for the local heating system. Every day the Power Generation Committee makes announcements of accidents in one or another electric power plant, as a result of which there are constant electric power cuts and the country lives one hour in the dark, three hours in the light. Dozens of schools have been closed for several weeks now and a lot of enterprises have got to stop their work because there is no fuel to provide them with heating.

According to officials of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] the disastrous situation is the result of "deliberately pursued strategy and tactics dictated by political interests." The parliamentary opposition considers that by deepening the economic crisis the former Communists are preparing for the local governments elections which will probably be held in March this year.

The politicians of the opposition who took it upon themselves to save the country from the deep crisis it is in make similar charges against the state administration which is still intact. The so-called "nomenklatura" cadres are still holding all the key positions they held at the time of the highly centralized economic and state administration of the communist regime. At least 90 per cent of the leading posts in the economy are held by members of the Socialist (formerly Communist) party.

The two ministers chiefly responsible for the launching of the economic reform, the representatives of the UDF Mr. Ivan Kostov and Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, said today that "every day they have to take out several knives stabbed into their backs." They have in mind the passive, but also active resistance of the old nomenklatura in the state departments.

Over the last few days the temperature of political life in Bulgaria soared up once again because of various threats. The reason for this is the personality of former prime minister Andrey Lukanov who was removed at the end of November after mass protests and a general strike. Relying on its majority in parliament, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] insists that Mr. Lukanov chairs the Foreign Policy Commission of the Grand National Assembly. In its turn the Union of Democratic Forces declared that it would withdraw its deputies from this commission if Mr. Lukanov becomes its chairman. Some political leaders regard the desire of the BSP to bring Mr. Lukanov back on the political stage as an attempt to consolidate the still strong Soviet influence in all government structures. Against this background the declaration made by the ambassador of the USSR here sounded like a threat too. Yesterday he said at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the "tendentious generalizations of the internal and foreign policy of the USSR and of the events in the Baltic may have a negative influence on bilateral relations."

The reports that have appeared in the Bulgarian press on the events in the Baltic do not differ from what is now known throughout the world but are at times in great discrepancy with the reports of the broadcasts of the Soviet Television received here.

The results of the latest public opinion polls are also alarming for the Bulgarian Government and for its representatives negotiating with the International Monetary Fund. They show that almost half of the Bulgarians are not convinced in the necessity of reviving private initiative or at least fear to say the truth. Apparently many who have grown used to their low living standard still find it difficult to believe that they are poor. A director of a large plant in a provincial town, in which the Socialist Party won the elections seven months ago, boasted of having no supply problems. He said his town was a "red oasis" and that Sofia was a "blue desert." The voting papers of the former Communist Party were red and of the opposition UDF—blue. With their way of thinking the people living in the villages and in the small towns are showing that the virus of demagogy is still quite hardy and will not be easily destroyed by the still fragile democracy.

Opposition Agrarians Want To Leave Warsaw Pact

AU2301205291 Sofia BTA in English 1652 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Nikola Petkov BZNS), a member of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], today circulated a declaration in which it is insisted that the Bulgarian Parliament, the president and the government should take the necessary steps for Bulgaria's leaving the Warsaw Treaty Organization, declaring the country's neutrality and demanding guarantees for Bulgaria's territorial integrity and national security from the United Nations.

The Nikola Petkov BZNS is the biggest party in the UDF and the second biggest in the country after the Bulgarian Socialist Party. The opposition Union of Democratic Forces has also raised the question of Bulgaria's leaving the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Islamic Group Wants Chief Mufti To Resign

AU2301094291 Sofia BTA in English 2238 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The Movement for Rights and Freedoms, a political organization, promoting the interests of Muslims and Bulgarians with Turkish national awareness, has issued a declaration demanding the resignation of the chief mufti of the Muslims in Bulgaria Nedim Gendzhev.

The declaration, received in the BTA today, supports the open letter, signed by tens of Muslim clerics early in January who demanded Mr. Gendzhev's resignation. The imams denounced Mr. Gendzhev's leadership style and expressed doubts as to the way he has acquired his position.

On the other hand, a security forces official told the national television a few days ago that Mr. Gendzhev is a former collaborator.

Mr. Gendzhev was appointed chief mufti by the Supreme Council of the Muslims in Bulgaria in 1988. The council is constituted by the chief muftis of the eight regions in Bulgaria where Islam is professed. Mr. Gendzhev's term of office ends in 1994.

Assembly Member Leaves BSP Parliamentary Group

AU2401091291 Sofia BTA in English 0010 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—Yet another Socialist left the parliamentary group of his party today.

Mr. [Todor] Todorov said that for more than half a year he had been watching with alarm "how the leadership and a great part of the parliamentary group of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] impeded the progress of the adoption of the legislative program".

By way of illustration Mr. Todorov pointed to the "latest fruitless parliamentary week". "Instead of adopting the priority laws we once again witnessed the power-loving ambitions displayed by the BSP who proposed that Mr. Lukanov represents us before the world", Mr. Todorov said. "But unfortunately there is nothing left to represent. Mr. Lukanov's great competence as former prime minister has left only famine and profiteering raging in this country".

The opposition wildly applauded Mr. Todorov's decision. He is the son of the famous General Ivan Todorov—Gorunya, who committed suicide under unclarified circumstances or was simply killed in the 60s after an unsuccessful attempt to remove Todor Zhivkov from power.

Some time ago the former spokesman of the parliamentary group of the Socialists Lyuben Kornezov also left his group. He pointed to the double-dealing of the leadership of the BSP as the reason for this step of his.

Current Trade Agreements With USSR Viewed

AU2301210491 Sofia BTA in English 1555 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov gave a press conference here today in response to a recently made request by the Union of Democratic Forces for details on the agreements on payments and trade and economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR for 1991.

Mr. Tomov recalled that these agreements envisage centralized deliveries of 5 million tons of Soviet petrol which Bulgaria will pay with counter-deliveries of goods, the payments being realized through the formation of prices on the basis of the current international prices and on a clearing basis.

The deputy prime minister said that Bulgaria has no other alternatives for importing oil and other vitally important raw materials because of her grave financial problems. He said that the government is preparing a mechanism which would encourage Bulgarian companies to export 470 thousand tons of calcinated soda, 2 thousand tons of caustic soda, 100 [thousand] tons of grain, 30 thousand tons of meat, 10 thousand tons of white cheese, wine and cigarettes, etc. Mr. Tomov pointed out that about 25-30 per cent of Bulgaria's export to the USSR will be made up of machines and equipment.

Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, was also present at the press conference. He described the agreement reached on the delivery of Bulgarian medicines to the tune of 300 million dollars to the USSR as mutually advantageous. Minister Paparizov said that the positive balance in Bulgaria's trade with the USSR at the end of last year amounted to 467 million transferable roubles and that the negotiations on the recalculation of this sum in convertible currency are continuing.

Answering a question Mr. Paparizov expressed his belief that the preservation of Bulgaria's traditionally good positions in the Soviet market is a task of paramount importance for this country's business circles, especially in the conditions of a transition to a market economy and to convertible currency payments as of January this year.

A director of a foreign trade office taking part in the press conference denounced the reports that Soviet oil was purchased by Bulgaria at unfavourable prices and provided details on the actual prices at which the latest deliveries were contracted.

Opposition Views Soviet Ties

AU2101204991 Sofia BTA in English 2040 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—At today's regular briefing of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], the Bulgarian opposition confirmed once again its position that former Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov should not head the parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee.

The opposition declared its position last Friday, when its members refused to cast their votes for Lukanov and walked out of parliament.

Today the opposition pointed out that its representatives would walk out of the Foreign Policy Committee if, thanks to the majority the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) has in parliament, Lukanov is elected its chairman. The UDF, however, does not object to a Socialist chairman. According to UDF spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev the attempts of the BSP to impose Mr. Lukanov's candidature are a sign of "the Sovietization of the of the ideology of the Socialist Party" and of its return to the orbit of pro-Soviet policy. He said that another proof of it is "the reluctance of the BSP to commit itself to a categorical rejection of the military operations in the Baltic region". Playing "the card Lukanov" at the moment is maybe a signal for the pro-Soviet elements in Bulgaria, the leaders of the opposition said.

According to the UDF the agreements Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov signed at the end of last year in Moscow on trade and payments between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union under terms which are disadvantageous for the Bulgarian side. The opposition insists on making the agreements public. At today's briefing the economic expert of the UDf, Asen Michkovski, stated that "the petrol list" is also to Bulgaria's disadvantage. The Bulgarians will have to export grain, meat, children's food, cheese and medicines amounting to almost $ 350 million and products of their oil industry for the petrol imported from the Soviet Union. The list of goods has been published in the Bulgarian business paper, from which it can be clearly seen that it does not include any goods traditionally produced by Bulgaria, there are no goods made by the industrial branches whose development was imposed by the Soviet Union itself, Mr. Michkovski underlined.

The UDF insists on receiving more details concerning the settlement of payments with the Soviet Union from Mr. Tomov. The opposition has some information that the arrangements involved are rather "vague" and that the Soviet Union owes about one billion transferable rubles to Bulgaria.

Government Denies Trade 'Unfavorable'

AU2201210091 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The Press Center of the Council of Ministers dismissed yesterday's reports and insinuations by the leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) that the two economic agreements with the USSR signed last year were unfavorable for Bulgaria and that Soviet oil will cost the country 40 U.S. dollars a barrel.

At its news conference SDS claimed that heavy and electronics industry products are not included in the Bulgarian exports to the USSR and that the Soviet Union owes Bulgaria 1 million transferable rubles, which is also denied by the Press Center of the Council of Ministers.

The Bulgarian Government believes that the agreements are favourable for the country and will do what is necessary for their fulfillment. The Bulgarian Government has signed these agreements on the basis of mutual commercial benefit and without strings attached, the Council of Ministers says. It explains that the Soviet oil is imported at 95 cents below the current international price per barrel.

The government said it is ready to submit all data concerning the agreement to the parliamentary committees.

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets USSR Envoy

AU2101210991 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Lyuben Gotsev, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, at the latter's own request.

The ambassador explained the reasons for the tense situation in Lithuania that has recently emerged and confirmed the Soviet leadership's resolute intention of finding a peaceful solution for the problems in the Baltic. According to the ambassador, the one-sided and biased news coverage on the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy and on the events in the Baltic appearing in Bulgaria and other countries are only likely to complicate the situation, produce undesirable consequences, and exert a negative effect on bilateral relations.

Lyuben Gotsev expressed our country's stand based on principles about this issues.

Anti-Soviet Activities Worry Lilov, Others

AU2301123291 Sofia BTA in English 2224 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—At their meeting today, the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Aleksandur Lilov and the chairman of the Federation for Friendship "Bulgaria-USSR" Zakhari Zahhariev, have come to the conclusion that anti-Soviet activities in the country have become more frequent and that negative trends have surfaced which burden Bulgarian-Soviet relations.

Today, the initiators for the setting up of the "Friends of Russia" Club have also expressed concern over the absence of the Soviet theme from the Bulgarian press and Bulgarian public life. Among the founders of the club are scientists, journalists, politicians and writers, most of them members of the BSP.

Today, a few citizens in Sofia expressed their support for the unity of the USSR.

Yesterday Soviet Ambassador Viktor Sharapov said that the tendentious statements on Soviet policy could produce a negative impact on Soviet-Bulgarian relations.

Pro-Baltic Rally at Soviet Consulate in Varna

AU2501080591 Sofia BTA in English 2205 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Today a rally was organized in support of the Baltic peoples in front of the Soviet Consulate General in the city of Varna. A declaration of the local branch of the Union of Democratic Forces to the Congress of the Peoples' Deputies of the USSR was promulgated which demands the recognition of the sovereignty of the Baltic republics.

The speakers denounced the bloodshed in Vilnius and Riga and the brutal violation of the Baltic peoples' rights. The demonstrators stood in silence in memory of those killed in Riga and then in protest surrounded the building of the consulate.

Bush Cancels Restrictions; Favored-Nation Likely

AU2401091391 Sofia BTA in English 0039 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—U.S. President George Bush signed a decree canceling the restrictions in trade with Bulgaria. This has made it possible for Bulgaria to receive a most-favored nation status in her trade with the United States.

It is expected that the most favored nation status will be fixed in the trade agreement under preparation between Bulgaria and the United States. The assessment made by a White House spokesman that the negotiations have marked progress was also confirmed by the Bulgarian Embassy in Washington.

It can be expected that in the conditions of this status the Federal Export-Import Bank will provide guarantees for granting Bulgaria financial loans and that this country will be included in the program of the Corporation for Encouraging Private Investments Outside the United States.

In a statement for the BTA the Bulgarian ambassador to the United States Mr. Ognyan Pishev stressed that the most favored nation status would include Bulgaria in the group of countries with which the United States is maintaining normal economic relations. This is a step which will win the confidence of the business circles but the companies of the United States and Bulgaria will impart it with concrete content.

The diplomat stressed the possibility for the realization of various economic projects, including with U.S. loans.

Popov Proposes Wider Cooperation With Germany

LD2201143991 Berlin ADN in German 1326 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov, in a letter to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, has expressed the wish for multifarious relations between Germany and the Balkan country. While sending best wishes on Kohl's reelection, the Bulgarian prime minister proposed cooperation in all spheres of politics, industry, and culture, the Bulgarian Government press office told ADN's Sofia correspondent. The letter was handed to Walter Lewalter, FRG ambassador to the Republic of Bulgaria, yesterday evening.

Prime Minister Popov told the ambassador that Bulgaria, being part of Europe, is seeking to play a worthy role on the old continent. For this, however, it requires material, political and moral support. Ambassador Lewalter promises that Bulgaria will find Germany to be a good friend who understands well that democracy and industry go hand in hand. Germany has always insisted on giving assistance and not charity.

Fuel Oil Shortage Leave Plovdiv Freezing

AU1801203391 Sofia BTA in English 1950 GMT 18 Jan 91

["Plovdiv Left Out in the Cold and Dark"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—Bulgaria's second largest city of Plovdiv today left some 160,000 people of its population without heating in sub-zero temperatures because the local thermoelectric power stations have run out of fuel oil. Several tank trucks arrived today and the power plants will be operating for another day or two, but this will drain all remaining reserves.

At the same time, central heating is essential for an entire new residential area, which has been built without chimneys.

The mayor of Plovdiv has appealed for help to the government and to the Turkish consul general in the city. The Turkish diplomat has been approached with a request to assist the delivery of 30,000 tonnes of fuel oil from Turkey.

The city industry is running into serious difficulties due to the power shortage, and even bread production is jeopardized.

According to the local authorities, Plovdiv is a disaster area and social tensions are mounting.

The Socialist Party daily "DUMA" recalls today that Iraq owes Bulgaria 1,300 million dollars and that it has to repay the debt by delivering 5 million tonnes of oil.

Mayor: Socialists Behind Shortages

AU2001192191 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 20 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—The mayor of Plovdiv, the second largest Bulgarian town, says that the critical situation in the town is a result of a well-planned political strategy. According to Mr. Nikolay Somlev the fuel shortage, that left the inhabitants of the new residential districts in Plovdiv without central heating and led to the closing down of tens of enterprises, is part of a campaign against the "blue towns". Mr. Somlev is the first to publicly express the reports that have been circulating for months now in the "blue towns", i.e. the towns which voted for the opposition Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

Upon taking office, the town authorities (which are members of the UDF) have negotiated to deliver fuel oil from Kazakhstan in exchange for goods. Mr. Somlev believes that Soviet bureaucracy hinders the fulfillment of the contract. He also accuses Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov for taking over the deal during his negotiations in Moscow, thus acting to the benefit of his own party only and ignoring the 160,000 citizens of Plovdiv whose lives and health are in danger.

The mayor of Plovdiv appealed to the Turkish consul in Plovdiv for help and also took steps to the representations of some Western oil companies in Greece.

Burgas Refinery Lacks Oil, Awaits Deliveries

AU1901192591 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 19 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—All installations at the petrochemical works in the town of Burgas have been floating for two days now because of lack of oil. This situation will probably change tomorrow when a tanker is expected to deliver 72,000 tonnes of crude oil from Novorossiysk. But the Soviet oil will last only for a week.

Another tanker is en route to Libya and if it has luck it might deliver 40,000 tonnes of oil.

The Foreign Trade Association "Khimimport" assured the petrochemical employees that it has opened a letter of credit for import of Soviet oil. If the oil is delivered the petro-chemical works will be processing about 10,000 tonnes a day. However, Bulgaria's demands for fuels and petroleum products are about three times greater.

Fuel Gone; Electricity Cuts Announced in Varna

AU2201114691 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Varna's available fuel supply will run out tomorrow when the last eight tonnes of gasoline and gas oil will be exhausted. Our correspondent Georgi Sreshtnikov reports that so far everyone simply shrugs their shoulders, including the Petroleum Company and the provisional city administration. The chief hope is that our largest port city will receive 1,000 tonnes of gasoline from Odessa in return for goods produced mainly by private businessmen.

The last quantities of heavy fuel oil will also be exhausted toward the end of this week, the danger that the bakery plants in the Varna region will have to close down is a real one.

The only hope is that there will be a satisfactory response to the demand by the Varna Provisional Municipal Administration for fuel to be released to Varna from the state reserves.

At 0820 [0620 GMT] this morning the 180-megawatt No. 3 unit at the Bobov Dol Thermoelectric Power Plant [TEP] underwent an emergency shutdown.

At about 1500 [1300 GMT] this afternoon, the No. 3 unit at the Varna TEP, with a capacity of 200 megawatts, is expected to be connected in parallel with the energy system, which will be followed at about 1700 [1500 GMT] by the connection of the 180-megawatt No. 2 generating unit at the Bobov Dol TEP.

All this makes it necessary once again to interrupt electricity supplies to the population throughout the country for one hour every four hours, the officials at the Central Control Room Administration of the Energy Industry Committee announced to BTA.

Finance Minister Confirms Interest Policy

AU2401220091 Sofia BTA in English 2047 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—"The rise of the interest rate from 5 per cent to 15 per cent does not satisfy the IMF, Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, told a press conference today. Mr. Kostov added that no price reform is imminent in Bulgaria because it will be too expensive for the state budget.

The prime interest rate was raised a week ago by a ministerial decree, which has provoked heated discussion and criticism rather than approval from both left and right. Private entrepreneurs accused the government of deliberately trying to ruin them by taking this measure prior to privatization. The general public, on the other hand, is disgruntled at the bill on credit repayment due to be presented in parliament.

According to Mr. Kostov, privatization marks the beginning of reforms, because the amendments to the decree of economic activity allowed the selling of properties worth up to 10 million leva. This makes possible the immediate privatization of production funds, worth a total of about 7 billion leva. "The high interest rate will create difficulties for the companies but it is inevitable in view of the current situation in the country," Mr. Kostov pointed out.

Mr. Kostov said that if parliament does not approve the government's program, the high interest rate included, the economic reform would hardly get off the ground. And this in its turn would have grim consequences: hyperinflation, deficit, uncontrolled soaring of prices and even state bankruptcy.

Government Decree Sets Turnover, Excise Tax

AU2501081191 Sofia BTA in English 2302 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—This year the average Bulgarian consumer will have to devote his family budget only to the essential commodities, shows today's decree of the Council of Ministers which determines the turnover tax and the excise tax.

No tax will be laid on electric power, solid fuel and city transport. Flour, meat, milk, fish, eggs and their products will be taxed 10 [percent], together with medicines, children's clothes and shoes, rents and transport. Taxation of all other goods grows significantly: up to 60 [percent].

On the one side, the purpose is a more just distribution of the burden of the crisis by reducing the weight on the socially weak stratum. On the other side, it is to stimulate production (mainly of agricultural products and essential commodities) at the expense of trade and non-material production preferred by most of the newly created private companies.

At its meeting today the Council of Ministers decided to set up a privatization agency.

The cabinet decided in principle to conclude a new domestic loan aimed at strengthening the budget and easing the inflation pressure.

The government cut down the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Trade Relations by 30 per cent and the number of deputy ministers was reduced to half. There were also dismissals in the Ministry of Education.

Industry Officials Warn of Bread Shortage

AU2301122891 Sofia BTA in English 1153 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—Representatives of 13 large bread-baking companies have warned of a possible bread shortage because of scarce yeast and wrapping and the lack of hard currency needed to buy essential spares for machines and equipment. Moreover, there are still no tax reliefs for bread producers. Paying 62 percent profit tax, they could hardly improve the quality of production or widen the range of their products.

Bread production in large towns has gone up 30 percent compared to last year, probably because of the shortage of other foods. But even this staple may soon be included in the list of scarcities. The reason is the high price of fodder that makes people buy large amounts of bread (which is still cheap) to feed their cattle.

Pavlov: Transport Services Must Modernize

AU2401201991 Sofia BTA in English 1547 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—All sorts of transport services in the country must become profitable. Foreign experience will be used in the development of the branch. The projects will be distributed by auction and the participation of foreign companies will be allowed. Bulgaria will have to consider the fact that the payments with the ex-socialist countries will be settled in convertible currency.

At a press conference today Mr. Veselin Pavlov, minister of transport, made it clear that if the transit cargo traffic is increased, that will lead to considerable profits, but it also requires significant road modernization and construction. Bulgaria will be striving to measure up to the European standards.

The minister also announced that the renovation of the air fleet will continue. Deliveries of Boeing 737's are already underway.

Country Urgently Needs Medicines, Foodstuffs

AU2401220391 Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Bulgaria urgently needs medicines for about 120 million dollars. "In twenty days there might be deaths caused by lack of medicines," Mr. Petko Simeonov, director of the Foreign Aid Agency, told journalists today.

Bulgarians also need baby food, basic foodstuffs: Milk, milk products, sugar, as well as clothes and soap.

Mr. Simeonov, an opposition M.P. was appointed early this year director of the agency, which was set up in November, 1990 by a parliamentary resolution. According to the resolution, the agency is a state organization which is to receive, keep and distribute foreign aid that is arriving in Bulgaria. But it is not the only organization responsible for distributing foreign aid.

Today Mr. Simeonov gave a press conference on the agency's activities. He repeatedly pointed out that everything the agency does will be made known to the donors and to the public.

In distributing foreign aid, the agency always makes allowances for the wishes of the donors. Independent inspections on the distribution are also carried out by the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections.

Bulgaria has already got humanitarian assistance from Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, Greece, Cyprus and many other countries.

Pushkarov Alleges Socialists Ruined Economy

AU2301100891 Sofia BTA in English 0907 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, minister of industry, trade and services, is disheartened by the ethics of his Socialist Party predecessors. He describes their actions during the last year of their office as "a crime against the nation." He is puzzled by the deliberate ruining of the Bulgarian economy.

Today's "DEMOKRATSIYA" runs a front-page interview with Mr. Pushkarov who, together with his opposition colleague Mr. Ivan Kostov, minister of finance, has committed himself to the economic reform. "We must patch up the market daily and in this way we go back on our own word, but we are forced to do it because Bulgaria is starving," Mr. Pushkarov says. The government is expected to submit its policy statement to parliament today.

Mr. Pushkarov emphasizes that even the worst fears of the cabinet have been surpassed: The January revenues are next to nothing, raw and prime materials and heating are unavailable, and the annual budget deficit will reach 6,500 million leva.

Mr. Pushkarov disagrees with the view expressed yesterday by the private businessmen's leader Mr. Valentin Mollov that privatization should precede the price reform. "Privatization is impossible without market conditions," Mr. Pushkarov says, arguing that with a runaway inflation, with an exchange rate of 25 leva against the dollar and with the influx of foreign capital, Bulgarian businesses would be sold at giveaway prices. Mr. Pushkarov believes that the lifting of price controls would help eliminate pricing absurdities.

The minister fears that the still open land ownership problem may lead to a political catastrophe. Parliament has been debating the bill for quite some time now but it has not yet reached the first-reading vote stage. Mr. Pushkarov sees a way out in the passage of land tenure principles first.

Mr. Pushkarov suggests an emergency credit as a short-term solution to the energy problem. Bulgaria relies on negotiations with the USSR at the republican and the regional level. Negotiations are under way with Turkey on the delivery of fuel oil. The Gulf war has made impossible the loading of 300,000 tonnes of oil from Iran. The minister also pins his hopes on private filling stations, including ones operated by foreign suppliers; offers have already arrived.

"What matters most, however, is to achieve a U-turn in Bulgarian industry," Mr. Pushkarov says, winding up his interview.

Companies Challenge Maxwell in Tourism Project

AU2301161691 Sofia BTA in English 1359 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—Some enterprising Bulgarians have thrown the gauntlet to the well-known British magnate Robert Maxwell.

Yesterday at a special news conference the representatives of three companies—Contract (Sofia), Ohi (Blagoevgrad) and Amina (Sandanski)—stated the ideas they have about the development of domestic and international tourism in Pirin Macedonia. The future of the governmental residence in the town of Sandanski was discussed in detail. The residence was built by Todor Zhivkov's people some years ago, but it has hardly been used. The three companies put forward serious arguments against the intention of the Bulgarian Interhotels state-run company to give up the residence together with another five former residences to Mr. Maxwell to manage for 3,300,000 dollars per year. According to the representatives of the three companies Bulgaria will hardly get something more than this money.

Contract, Ohi and Amina promise an annual net profit of 600,000 dollars plus 500,000 leva that will go to meet the social needs of the Sandanski Municipality, the construction of a school for training personnel for tourism in Sandanski, sponsorship of the kindergarten for children suffering from asthma and the opening of many new jobs if they are allowed to take up the exploitation of the residence. There has been no reply yet to the offer the companies submitted to the Presidency, the government, the Committee for Tourism and to Interhotels.

It is the three companies' idea to set up a consortium or a stockholding company open for foreign partners and foreign investment. The authors of the project intend to re-invest the profits made in the tourist base of the Sandanski Municipality comprising balneological centres, ski-bases, sports grounds, horse bases, roadside and entertainment establishments, a factory for bottling mineral water.

It is already known that Interhotels and Mr. Maxwell have opened negotiations. But yesterday the three enterprising companies were assured by another state company, Balkantourist, that it was ready for cooperation with them.

Cold Winter Causes Heating, Fuel Problems

AU2201184691 Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The lack of fuel oil left yet another town, Vratsa (pop. 18,000), without central heating. If the cold spell persists, the temperatures in the prefab blocks of tiny ferro-concrete flats are likely to fall to 15 degrees Celsius.

The central heating problem is extremely serious for urbanites since most of them live in prefab high-rises. The Bulgarians have got so used to the cheap central heating that few have secured alternative sources of heating despite the politicians' warnings of "a dark, cold and hungry winter ahead". But these alternative sources are also scarce. Heating coal and natural gas are almost unobtainable and there are almost daily black-outs.

People follow the electricity rationing notices. The frequency of power cuts depends on a generation system operating without any reserve capacities and plagued by unpredictable breakdowns.

Reports of public transport problems, caused by lack of fuel, come in almost daily from across the country. Petrol for private cars will not be available until the end of January and the state-owned petrol company said things may not get any better in February either. Black market prices of fuel are exorbitant.

Government sources say that the sugar available in Bulgaria will last for ten days, cooking oil for a month, legumes for a month and a half. Stocks of other staple foods and detergents are running out, too.

Sofianites will be handed out ration books allowing them to buy staple foods at particular shops only.

But there is almost nothing to buy. Sofia has 50 tonnes of meat, 90 tonnes of kashkaval (Bulgarian yellow cheese), 50 tonnes of flour, 30 tonnes of beans and not a gram of sugar and white cheese, a City Council source said.

State Closes Plovdiv Private Radio Station

AU2301122691 Sofia BTA in English 1114 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—The state, which still holds a monopoly on broadcasting, cracked down on the first Bulgarian private radio station in mid-January.

Six months after it went into session, parliament has not yet considered an opposition MP's bill to demonopolize radio and television. Four journalists based in Bulgaria's second largest city of Plovdiv: Mr. Zhivko Zhelev (a popular TV personality), Mr. Aleksandur Momchilov, Mr. Hsirto [name as received] Grozev and Mr. Georgi Vasilski, yielded to the temptation and started a private radio station broadcasting commercial news and advertisements. They called it "Channel Com." "Com stands for commercial, not for communist," "DEMOKRATSIYA" explained later on. The FM programmes were aired on an experimental basis at 92 MHz. The broadcasters said that all that is not politics will be eligible for their programmes because "politics is not all."

Plovdivers and the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Asenovgrad were treated to news on the availability of consumer goods, on private companies, ads and business opportunities, with music to match. The first Bulgarian private radio worked together with Radio Luxembourg.

The Channel Com pioneers aspired to cover the large Bulgarian cities. Leading companies operating in south Bulgaria and along the Black Sea coast showed interest in the undertaking.

It all ended in mid-January when the state invoked its broadcasting monopoly, guaranteed under Article 16 of the effective Constitution. Channel Com was ordered to cease operation and threatened with confiscation of the equipment. An interdepartmental commission on frequency allocation cropped up from nowhere and said that Channel Com has broken the Communications Law as well. Mr. Zhivko Zhelev was served an order of a 500 leva fine (nearly three times the minimum monthly wage).

"In Bulgaria some people may break the laws and other should perish the very thought of anticipating the new laws," [sentence as received] commented an embittered Aleksandur Momchilov, one of the Channel Com founders. "We experimented broadcasting to be ready for the entry into force of the law. Some people got furious to see us break new ground."

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Remarks on Gulf Issues

LD2401234891 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2110 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Studio interview with Egon Lansky, spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] I now welcome here in the studio Egon Lansky, spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Good evening.

[Lansky] Good evening.

[Reporter] About half an hour ago the agencies reported that another air raid warning has sounded in Israel. What is Czechoslovakia's stand on Iraq's attacks on Israel?

[Lansky] Well, Czechoslovakia, of course, is very-...[changes thought] expresses clear sympathy with what has happened to the Israeli people. Several people have died there, and many have been wounded. Czechoslovakia very highly commends the Israeli Government's restraint, because in a situation where it is, in fact, a sort of hidden core and target of this conflict, that small country has refrained from the sort of retaliation or the sort of strategy which has always been very successful, that is, they have always responded to attack with counterattack. They have done this in the interest of the international situation, in the interest of the international coalition, and it could be said that by not entering the hostilities, they are, in fact, a member of the coalition to a greater extent than many other countries. The coalition, of which we are a member, commends this of course.

[Reporter] So we are on Israel's side. How are the Arab countries reacting to this?

[Lansky] I think it is interesting that we have to say that their reactions vary. Some Arab countries, of course, are members of the coalition, others are on the side of the enemy, and yet others are trying to stay, in a way, neutral. I can tell you, for example, that six Arab ambassadors, including the Palestinian one, have been to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the last few days—some at their own request, others were invited by the ministry—and their reactions are very different. Let us take the Egyptian reaction as an example: their attitude is almost identical to ours. They say, on the one hand, that the standpoints and statements of the PLO must be understood, but on the other hand, they also say quite clearly that in this conflict these two questions must not and cannot be mixed together, and this is what the Iraqis and their allies are trying to do, including their tacit allies such as Jordan, for example. So, given this whole spectrum of different standpoints, the Arab world is not at all united, and this holy war as Husayn—who, between you and me, is an atheist—calls it is not a holy war at all.

At the same time, a number of Arab diplomats, leading diplomats of their missions, have voiced fears for the safety of their citizens, because very strong anti-Arab sentiments are beginning to emerge in Czechoslovakia. I would like to say that I am convinced that most of our people regret this, because Arab citizens who are in Czechoslovakia, for whatever reason, have nothing to do with this conflict, and they should not be the target of undignified behavior. They are innocent civilians.

[Reporter] It depends on Israel now, to a considerable extent, whether the conflict in the Persian Gulf will spread throughout the entire Middle East region. Nevertheless, we now also face this danger of extension regarding Turkey, because from the moment when U.S. planes began to take off from there, Iraq began to threaten it. This would mean though that NATO, of which Turkey is a member, could get involved in the war. Do you think that Saddam Husayn would dare to attack Turkey?

[Lansky] [passage omitted] Regarding this issue, I think that Saddam is a very deft politician—he can be unattractive, but let us not mistake this for being inept or blind to facts; he is a very deft politician and he could easily do it, in my view—which does not mean he will do it. Nevertheless, in my view this would not necessarily mean NATO engagement in this conflict.

The thing is that NATO is an organization aimed at the security of European territory. Another thing is that, after all, almost two-thirds of NATO member states have joined the alliance anway. Therefore, is NATO engaged in this conflict? It is not, as all the members of the alliance, including us, say we are not waging a war against Iraq, we are not waging a war against the Iraqi nation, we are just attempting to enforce the UN Security Council resolution.

[Reporter] Lately more and more reports have appeared saying that the Iraqi opposition, both in exile and at home, is getting more active. Do you consider it possible that a surprise solution to the whole war conflict could be that Saddam Husayn is overthrown?

[Lansky] I do not exclude this. It could, of course, be one of the solutions of the conflict. Let us look at another possible solution. All this fighting is aimed at one thing: reinstating the sovereignty of Kuwait, i.e. pushing Iraq out of Kuwait. Providing that this coalition really pushes Iraq out of Kuwait, do you think that under such circumstances this Iraqi dictator could preserve his dictatorship in his country? I think that his situation will be very doubtful anyway. He is probably going to fall because for some kind of internal reasons.

[Reporter] I would ask you about something else. Today the Czechoslovak Press Agency issued a report on an interview with Peter Kulan, deputy of the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly, who took part in a three-day study visit of Federal Assembly deputies to our east border, i.e. our border with the Soviet Union. Answering a question in his CTK interview on what the level of security at our border with the Soviet Union is, I quote this bit, he said that at present the situation is such that soldiers can signal danger but they do not have any chance to stop a direct attempt of an armed group to cross the border. In this context he mentioned an attempt to cross the border which involved 50 armed persons. The attempt was foiled while these people were still on Soviet territory, and about 14 human lives were allegedly lost in the incident. Some foreign press agencies interpreted the report by saying that shooting is going on at our east border. Is this report true?

[Lansky] Perhaps it makes sense to take this report as an instructive example and show the Czechoslovak public how reports are made and how they are not, how disinformation spreads. I heard this report this afternoon when a correspondent of the Austrian daily DIE PRESSE phoned me. [passage omitted] Between then and now I spent a while early this evening at the United States Embassy residence where Ambassador Black was giving a reception in honor of a French economist. There I met Soviet Ambassador Pankin.

By chance we knew each other from the time when he was ambassador to Sweden where I worked as a journalist. During the last few months we met each other a couple of times. We greeted each other and spoke for a while and I said to him: Mr. Ambassador, did you hear about this incident? He told me, no I did not—and what do you know about it? I told him what I knew about it. He told me that he did not know anything about it. I told him about going to the television newsreel studio this evening and asked him if I could repeat his answer here. He said: of course. Therefore, I am telling you now.

The ambassador did not know anything about it. Meanwhile, as all of us know, a denial has been already issued—it was something quite different, in fact.

150 Demonstrate Against Gulf War in Prague

AU2401153991 Prague CTK in English 2212 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 22 (CTK)— In the first demonstration here since war broke out in the Persian Gulf, about 150 predominantly young people protested today against a military resolution of the conflict between Iraq and the allied forces.

Gathered at 5 p.m. on Victory Square where a statue of Vladimir Lenin once stood, with loud speeches and cries of "long live peace" the protesters expressed their unequivocal disagreement with the International Allied Forces' war on Iraq.

The event was organized by the Campaign for the Rights of Youth, an informal grouping, and included representatives of the Left Alternative, the Communist Youth Union, the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, and the General Union of Palestinian Students.

A lively exchange of opinions on Arab problems and the alleged guilt of the U.S. for the origin of the armed conflict broke out between the Palestinian student union and a group of young men who turned out with an American flag.

Participants in the demonstration signed a petition demanding the recall of the Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit from Saudi Arabia and objective information about the war.

They also exhorted the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly to see through an end to shooting in the Gulf and an international peace conference on the Middle East.

From Victory Square the protesters headed for the center of town. Chanting slogans condemning the military conflict in the Gulf, they passed through Wenceslas Square to the Federal Assembly building.

Deputies Pavel Dostal (OF) and Ivan Fisera (OF) from the House of Nations and Deputy Jiri Soukup (OF) from the House of Peoples attempted to defend and explain the reasons for the participation of the Czechoslovak unit in the allied forces to the demonstrators.

The protesters insisted on their demands and delivered to the deputies a petition against the war with over 100 signatures.

Four Libyan Nationals Expelled From Country

AU2501115591 Prague CTK in English 2038 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 21 (CTK)—Four Libyan nationals have been expelled from Czechoslovakia because they had no valid permissions for staying in this country, Spokesman for the Federal Interior Ministry Martin Fendrych told CTK today.

At its meeting here tonight, a special security staff of the Interior Ministry stated that the overall security situation on the territory of Czechoslovakia has not changed.

Soviet Withdrawal Through Country Viewed

LD2401213691 Prague CTK in English 2028 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 24 (CTK)—The possible withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany via Czechoslovakia will be discussed if the Czechoslovak Government is officially requested to do so by the German side, Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky said here today.

Dobrovsky told a press conference after today's Cabinet meeting that the issue could be considered only after the departure of Soviet units from Czechoslovakia, which is likely to be finished by the end of February. Dobrovsky added that before allowing the transport of Soviet troops through Czechoslovakia, agreement must be reached also with neighbouring countries.

Meanwhile, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry issued a statement on this issue, saying that preliminary talks, held at the request of German railways on January 21-23 at the Czechoslovak Transport Ministry, concerned only technical and financial aspects, and that a fundamental decision on the matter is up to the federal government and the parliament. The ministry statement did not expect any specific agreement on the issue to be reached before the pull-out of the remaining Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is completed.

Referring at the press conference to the Czechoslovak anti- chemical regiment in Saudi Arabia, Minister Dobrovsky said three soldiers wanting to return home will be substituted and further volunteers will reinforce the unit. He did not specify their number or date of departure.

Austrian Criticism of Nuclear Plant Fire Rejected

AU2401154691 Prague CTK in English 2247 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 22 (CTK)— Czechoslovakia acted in the case of last night's fire at the nuclear power plant at Dukovany, South Moravia, strictly in tune with the Czechoslovak-Austrian Agreement on Nuclear Safety and Protection Against Radiation of 1989, CTK was told today by an Economics Ministry official.

Radomil Stepanek, director of the Czechoslovak Economics Minister Secretariat, reacted to a press conference in Vienna today at which the Austrian Green Alternative claimed that the belated announcement of the fire to appropriate Austrian authorities just as in the case of an accident at Jaslovske Bohunice, West Slovakia, last week degraded once again the interstate agreement on the exchange of information to a worthless piece of paper.

Stepanek recalled that the Dukovany director immediately informed CTK, which transmitted the news through its network. The fire was clearly identified as an event by no means threatening operating safety at the plant, and the less so the population. Moreover, Czechoslovak authorities provided further information to the Austrian side this morning.

According to Stepanek, Austrian authorities have not indicated that they would lack adequate information or that the information would have been given to them belatedly.

The Czechoslovak side is ready at any time to reply possible questions from Austrian authorities, Stepanek added.

Both the fire at Jaslovske Bohunice and at Dukovany were soon put out and there were no radioactivity leaks.

Unit Formed for UN Peacekeeping Operations

LD2401171991 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 24 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak 300-strong battalion is currently being trained in Cesky Krumlov, South Bohemia, for participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations, Colonel Adolf Turek, in charge of the U.N. Peace-Keeping Forces Department of the Czechoslovak Army's General Staff, said today.

Colonel Turek told CTK that the battalion started to be trained last December after a visit to Czechoslovakia last year by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar who displayed U.N. interest in Czechoslovakia providing a unit for U.N. peace-keeping operations in places facing increased war danger.

Recruitment is conducted among volunteers from soldiers undergoing basic military training and officers. The battalion will not be used in combat operations but only for auxiliary, supporting tasks and therefore its equipment includes, apart from vehicles, only light infantry weapons assigned for personal defence.

Dienstbier Comments on Refugee Problems

LD2401215591 Prague CTK in English 2044 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Vienna Jan 24 (CTK correspondent)—"Just when the civilised world is agreeing to respect the right of every person to leave any country including their own, the community of nations must fear the consequences of the massive exercise of this right".

These were the words of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in a speech to the European conference on migration issues here in Vienna, where he heads his country's delegation.

Dienstbier proposed that the issue of migration be taken up at the upcoming Conference on the Human Dimension (of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe), scheduled to take place in Moscow in September this year.

He also recommended that a proposal for several sections of the U.N. Secretariat to coordinate measures on the issue be submitted to the United Nations general secretary.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister said it is obvious that in former East-Bloc countries that have not yet stepped on to the course of democracy, pluralism and market economy (e.g. Bulgaria and Romania-ed.) There will be more and more people prepared to make the decision to emigrate. In this context one cannot fail to mention the attempts to suppress the Baltic nations' natural aspirations to self-determination, which were condemned by the world community, said Dienstbier. All responsible politicians must realise that internal problems cannot be solved with force, he emphasised.

In the last 40 years Czechoslovakia suffered from the negative effects of migration as tens of thousands of its citizens left for other countries. As a country lying in the very heart of Europe, it is confronted today with the opposite phenomenon - the risk that a huge wave of emigration will pass through its territory, moving from East to West, observed the Czechoslovak foreign minister.

Thus we belong to a group of countries that is particularly threatened. This threat comes at a time when the Czechoslovak economy is very fragile, in a period of transformation when we need to mobilise all accessible sources for the success of economic reform. The risk of an uncontrolled wave of migration passing over our territory in this context is a potentially destabilising factor, said Dienstbier.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister said he was convinced that preventing migration on a mass scale is possible only with the removal of causes leading people to flee their own country. This means putting out maximum efforts to assure political, economic and social stability in each individual country. Only democracy, political pluralism and a market economy can assure such stability, asserted Dienstbier.

In order to contribute to the solution of this problem Czechoslovakia intends to organise a meeting of European ministers of labour and social affairs in Prague this year. The goal of the meeting will be to evaluate the effects of migration on the European labour market.

Cabinet Discusses Vienna Talks, CEMA, Taxes

LD2401182491 Prague CTK in English 1155 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 24 (CTK)—Troops reduction will be the top priority for a Czechoslovak delegation at the Vienna talks, according to a concept approved by the Czechoslovak Government here today.

Czechoslovakia regards the Vienna talks as a forum for debates on terminating the existence of blocs in Europe, including Czechoslovakia's membership of the Warsaw Pact. In this respect the Czechoslovak delegation, in coperation with Poland and Hungary, will make every effort that the talks on troops reductions be held exclusively on national bases and not on the basis of alliances. By 1993, Czechoslovakia's Armed Forces are planned to be cut by 63,000 men.

The government also approved the concept of Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy, under whose guidance a special working group prepared a proposal for terminating the activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in its present form and for establishing a new international organization for economic cooperation. The proposals are to be discussed by a CMEA session to be held in Budapest towards the end of February 1991.

The federal Cabinet today agreed to terminate free assistance in the military sphere, given to Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia, mainly in the form of training military experts at Czechoslovak schools and treatment of military officials in Czechoslovak military establishments.

The Cabinet approved a proposal to conclude an agreement between Czechoslovakia and Syria on preventing double taxation and tax evasions.

Czechoslovak and Syrian firms have been cooperating for more than 30 years. Since 1984 Syrian firms, however, have been failing to keep to their financial commitments towards Czechoslovak exporting companies, with Syrian tax authorities still requiring payment of income taxes.

Dienstbier on Relations With Hungary

AU2401152891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Jan 91 p 5

[Interview with Jiri Dienstbier, CSFR deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by Tibor Ferko in Budapest on 21 January: "We Are Not in a Race"; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] The intervals during the Budapest talks involving the Czechoslovak, Hungarian, and Polish foreign ministers were not long enough for us to conduct interviews outside the agenda. With the assistance of Czechoslovak Ambassador R. Chmel and thanks to the understanding of Foreign Minister Dienstbier, I am, however, able to acquaint readers with his replies to questions about the issues of the day. The future will be the judge of their validity.

[Ferko] First, Czechoslovakia favored gradual steps for "severing our working relationship" with the Warsaw Pact, and Hungary initiated its own unilateral withdrawal because the Pact was not being dismantled within a specific time limit. Now the situation is reversed; we favor accelerating the Pact's dismantling—or our withdrawal from it—and the Hungarians have slowed down their initiative and are in favor of a gradual solution to the problem. Has the basic philosophy behind our policy changed or is this a reaction to a specific situation?

[Dienstbier] This is one of those often repeated misunderstandings. The Czechoslovak and Hungarian positions are very close; perhaps the words differ, but there is unequivocal agreement between us that the military structures should be abolished by 1 July at the latest, leaving behind a kind of consultative committee for disarmament issues. As we know, European disarmament negotiations are still continuing at the NATO and Warsaw Pact level. They will continue until Helsinki II (a meeting involving the most senior representatives of CSCE participatory countries which should convene for the second time in 1992 in the Finnish capital—editor's note) when disarmament talks will transfer to the CSCE level, that is, to the pan-European level. In my opinion, people are merely giving their own interpretation of our positions. Both states' points of view are very similar, if not identical. Perhaps both sides emphasized different aspects of the matter, but the practical outcome or course of action is the same.

[Ferko] To what extent are your talks influenced by the recent declaration made by an important Hungarian diplomat that "we are witnessing an anti-Czech, anti-Hungarian, and anti-Jewish form of Slovak nationalism?" The issue now is not the extremes tolerated by every democracy, but the absolutizing of these prejudiced phenomena and their transfer onto the arena of major policy or, alternatively, of foreign relations. What is our stance apropos the Hungarian point of view that "Czechoslovak foreign policy is impulsive, giving the impression that—in certain aspects of its initiative—it wants to overtake Hungarian diplomatic policy?"

[Dienstbier] This principle of competitiveness is not only incorrect and misleading, it may also be counterproductive. As we know, the West—the European Community and the United States—is very interested in cooperation among our three states: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. Because they are anxious about destabilization and these conflict situations; they are very open about their fears concerning the Balkanization of Central and Eastern Europe. Cooperation among these countries indicates that there is no need to be anxious as a region of stable cooperation is being created in Central Europe.

Even aid for these countries depends on whether or not they are capable of cooperation. Who makes progress quickly will depend upon very specific things; they are not even connected with current policy, but with the different levels attained by these three countries in certain spheres. Therefore, I think we will achieve our aims more quickly if we do not compete with each other, but mutually support each other, and if we realize that when one of our countries achieves something, the success of the other countries in achieving the same thing will be accelerated.

[Ferko] The tendency to place particular emphasis on federal foreign policy and to completely differently—if not in an absolutely contradictory manner—accentuate the aims of Slovak policy is well known. There is a Ministry for International Relations in Slovakia. Do the Federal Foreign Ministry and the federal government realize that they have defined the limits of their Slovak partner's specific jurisdiction in this area?

[Dienstbier] We agreed in September that this issue does not at all involve the division of jurisdiction. Certain types of jurisdiction can lie exclusively within the authority of entities recognized by international law—that is, the federation—and there are issues that do not have to come within this authority at all as we are also interested in decentralization as much as possible. State or federal foreign policy will create prerequisites and will remove obstacles in relations between people. These may be real international relations or relations between individuals or enterprises and universities, between cities and citizens, and also between the republics and their foreign partners.

The attitude that existed previously, or the need to authorize or prohibit everything from the federal ministry, belongs to the past. When at the very beginning mayors asked me if they could establish ties with other cities, I replied: Why are you asking me? As long as it is in harmony with our foreign policy, it is your affair whom you want to cooperate with. We are here to help you if you need it. There is one thing, however: If this cooperation is at fundamental variance with the state's foreign policy, we will intervene. Let me reiterate that this issue does not involve any division of jurisdiction as specific types of jurisdiction can only lie within the federation. We have absolutely no interest in more jurisdiction; on the contrary, we would like international relations to expand as much as possible on all levels.

[Ferko] Relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary are not good. A particularly sore point is the attitude toward Slovakia, or rather, toward those extremes which, to date, are still on the surface and which indicate to our neighbors that they need to make retaliatory charges. This, however, sometimes happens the other way round. These manifestations in the press or in politics receive considerable publicity. What is your view following the bilateral talks with your Hungarian counterpart? Where do you see a starting point for improving relations, and what do you want to base the improvement on?

[Dienstbier] I disagree that relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary are not good; I would not express it this way. Understandably, there are various problems, as is normal between neighbors. Relations, however, are good because both sides are willing and prepared to discuss them. I would not get mixed up in what appears in the news because these are simply the views of press organizations and do not concern interstate relations between our federation and Hungary.

There are problems with Gabcikovo and there will be more discussions about the ethnic minorities; however, these are the only two problems we have and I think we should resolve them within the framework of our attempt to integrate into Europe, into the Council of Europe, and—gradually—into the European Community. We should make greater use of those principles that apply in Europe today and, as the case may be, of expert analyses, for example, to look into the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros problem. It would be most suitable to invite an impartial EC commission to consider this problem and to make specific recommendations. We could then proceed further.

It is important—and this also concerns our relationship with Austria, where a huge campaign is being waged against our nuclear power plants—that the new atmosphere in Europe is not the result of power, ideological, or bloc disputes but is the result of specific working problems. This atmosphere can influence overall relations, but not in a definitive manner. These are specific problems and are not merely a pretext for seeking hostile relations.

Neighbors always have some problems. The issue is whether they are willing and prepared to resolve them; not for prestige, but on principle. It is natural that a compromise then has to be reached. If, following all the discussions and expert analyses, opinions are still divided, it is necessary to come to a compromise and not to continually and fundamentally insist on having one's own way.

Data Provided on Joint Finnish Trade, Prospects

AU2401150891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Jan 91 p 3

[Alena Adamkova report: "Good Times for Trade With Finland"]

[Text] Since 1 January, imported consumer goods have been subject to a temporary 20-percent import surcharge, introduced to protect our producers in the difficult period of transition to a market economy. Hardly anyone knows, however, that this measure, which is very unpleasant for Western companies, does not concern Finnish goods.

This is because of our 1974 free-trade agreement with Finland, which applies also to the aforementioned new import surcharges, as the CSFR Ministry of Foreign Trade has now reaffirmed. As Markku Kaupinnen, councillor at the Finnish Embassy in Prague, told us, this means in practice that Finnish goods not only are not burdened with the present 20-percent surcharge, but that designated products quoted on a list approved by the two states (comprising consumer goods and some food products such as alcohol) are cheaper by an additional 20 to 30 percent than comparable goods of other Western countries because they benefit from the more advantageous customs duties agreed upon in the free-trade agreement of 1974. Finnish consumer goods and food products are now therefore 40 to 50 percent cheaper than goods from other Western countries, and their prices are comparable with goods imported from Yugoslavia, for example. Now particularly advantageous, in terms of price, are Finnish refrigerators and freezers, television sets, and alcohol. Czechoslovak exports to Finland enjoy the same benefits (with the exception of the 20 percent, of course).

The climate for an increase in mutual trade exchange is therefore optimal. Last year the volume of trade exchange experienced a significant decline, as Engineer Jindrich Lacko from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade told us. Total turnover declined 18.1 percent to 3.178 billion korunas (Kcs), of which exports declined 1.6 percent, to Kcs1.936 billion, and imports as much as 35.1 percent, to Kcs1.24 billion. This makes Finland only our 20th largest trading partner (if imports alone were considered, it would occupy the 24th place); trade with Finland represents only 0.7 percent of our total foreign trade turnover. It can therefore be assumed that imports from Finland, in particular, will increase this year in view of the advantageous terms. A contribution to this will undoubtedly also be made by newly founded joint Czechoslovak-Finnish enterprises, such as a venture with the Finnish Helkama company for the production of catalytic converters, the NESTE-Chemopetrol venture involved in trade with oil products, and several others. Finland has also been commissioned to work out a study for our forest economy and wood-processing industry and to organize management classes in Czechoslovakia.

Havel Voices 'Confidence' in New Secret Service

AU2401154091 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Prague January 22 (CTK)— Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel met today with director of the Federal Information Service (FIS) Jiri Novotny to get acquainted with FIS activity in connection with the Gulf war.

Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos and Presidential Adviser Jiri Krizan were also present.

Havel expressed full confidence in all present FIS employees.

Klaus Comments on Government Discussion of Economy

LD2301000991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report on news conference by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus with unidentified reporters during a break of the federal government's extraordinary session in Prague on 22 January—recorded]

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. Minister, what is the current (stage of) the government negotiation?

[Klaus] Well, the government has now been talking for about one and a half hours, and, because it is a key matter, it will certainly talk about it a bit longer. That is the basic thing I would like to mention. It is perfectly clear, however, that it is not only the trivial question of proportion between natural and financial restitution. That is now how the question stands. The question is much broader, much more fundamental: it is a question of our way of looking at the past, the present, the future. The question that is often being asked is a false question. If someone asks whether wrongdoings committed by the communist regime should be made up for—the trivial reply is yes. But the question, simply, is much more complicated because the wrongodings will not be made up at the expense of those people who committed them at that time. The people who will make up for them are completely different people, and that is a very profound question of our times. In this sense, to trivialize this in the form of the question of whether or not it will burden the state budget a bit more if this or that form is selected, this is not the case at all.

[Reporter] Despite this, Mr. Minister, have you got economic data ready for the individual versions?

[Klaus] Well, the economic foundations are very difficult to compile because, so far, we are not aware even of the extent of the restitution. As to the housing fund, tenement houses and similar things, villas—that is one parcel of money or whatever else—but if one talks of nationalization, questions of reprivatization of large enterprises, as some deputies propose, that is a total liquidation of the entire process of privatization. [sentence as heard] It would not be necessary to adopt a transformation bill; in other words, this is something completely different. The difference between financial costs and other costs, the running of the economy, functioning of our country, that is 10:1 or 100:1—this is when talking about the alternatives...but that is not the question. The whole matter is much more general. Furthermore, I think that, apart from changing little things and little sentences in the government draft of the restitution bill—the entire matter is much more general.

[Reporter] What do you say about the proposal that the deputies are ready to draft their own version of the draft bill if the government does not submit the one....

[Klaus, interrupting] Well, I think that is the right of the deputies to do it. I cannot say anything else about it.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, one more question. Do you think that the government will make a final decision tomorrow, or will it be the topic of further talks?

[Klaus] Well, the government will certainly look at its two original proposals which it had ready for submission at that time, and it will certainly look at its two proposals, apart from the above more general questions I spoke about, and will reconsider them.

[Reporter] Does the government favor any of these proposals?

[Klaus] No, do not jump the gun. Please, do not.

Federal, Slovak Sides Differ on Antimonopoly Law

AU2401124991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Marta Moricova report: "Competitive Environment Still in Its Infancy; Laborious Drafting of the Antimonopoly Law"]

[Text] Bratislava— The birth of the antimonopoly law is a laborious one. This is the case, perhaps, because the issue of division of powers between the federal government and the governments of the republics has not yet been resolved. Whereas the federal government proposes a single federal [antimonopoly] office with branches in the republics, the idea in Slovakia at least is different: Antimonopoly offices ought to be established in the republics, while on the federal level there should only operate a committee. This committee should intervene in the event that a problem cannot be resolved at the level of the republic. As Lubomir Dolgos, chairman of the Slovak Antimonopoly Office, said at a news conference yesterday, the situation regarding the drafting and passage of the antimonopoly law still is not good. The work on the law was suspended last year after it had been accepted by the Federal Assembly's Economic Committees but turned down by the Planning and Budget Committee.

Representatives of the Slovak Antimonopoly Office were invited to Prague for talks last Thursday. The federal representation was out of proportion to the representation of the Czech and Slovak sides and, what is more, the negotiations were held under time pressure. Although the resumption of work on the law must be welcomed, Lubomir Dolgos said, today's discussion of the present version of the law in the Planning and Budget Committee is premature. Moreover, we do not understand why the law is to be discussed in the economic committees again on 25 February when these committees had already approved it.

The Slovak side proposed that the antimonopoly office should not mete out any punishment and that this activity should be taken over by arbitration authorities and commercial courts. This would help bring about decentralization. The federal government, on the other hand, proposes the establishment of a federal Antimonopoly Office that would be responsible for foreign economic relations and those cases where there is a market share of over 40 percent in the two republics. The Slovak Antimonopoly Office would then have to maneuver in a space of only 10 percent [sentence as published].

This approach of the federal government is hard to comprehend. After all, the creation and protection of competition is a task that should be a matter of concern to everyone who is serious about economic reform.

Government Discusses Rehabilitation, Restitution

AU2401154291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Jan 91 p 1

[CTK report: "Natural Restitution"]

[Text] Prague—Due to the fact that several Federal Assembly committees do not agree with the government's draft law on extrajudicial rehabilitation, the federal government returned to this problem again yesterday. After a great deal of discussion, it confirmed its original draft on natural restitution with some amendments. Those properties that can be returned without violating any other law may be returned to their original owners as long as they apply to get them back within the legal time limit of six months. In instances when natural restitution cannot be implemented, financial compensation will be considered. Prime Minister M. Calfa emphasized that the draft specifies compensation for damage to property with an ownership date after 25 February 1948. It does not apply, therefore, to a series of nationalization decrees from March and April 1948 signed by President E. Benes before February. The draft law will be submitted to the Federal Assembly committees today.

Development of Hard Currency Savings in 1990

AU2401135591

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 22 January on page 1 publishes a chart (three by five inches) showing the development of foreign exchange savings of the Czechoslovak population in the January to November 1990 period. The chart, which is attributed to Czechoslovak State Bank sources, shows that deposits on foreign exchange accounts of Czechoslovak citizens increased from 1.68 billion korunas (Kcs) on 1 January 1990 to Kcs7.52 billion on 30 November 1991. Deposits on the "Tuzex accounts," on the other hand, declined from Kcs1.47 billion worth of Tuzex vouchers on 1 January 1990 to Kcs0.75 billion korunas worth of Tuzex vouchers on 30 November 1990 (Tuzex vouchers are a foreign exchange equivalent that can be used in a special network of shops selling imported goods).

Czech Environment Minister Dismissed

LD2401195691 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 24 (CTK)—Czech Minister for the Environment Bedrich Moldan was dismissed from his post by the Presidium of the Czech parliament today after it heard the results of an inquiry by a parliamentary commission for vetting.

The Czech parliament's Presidium took note of the fact that Moldan, who has been on sick leave since January 2, was entered in the register of the "StB" secret police, now disbanded, but was not an agent.

Meciar Proposes Idea of Three-Member Federation

AU2401154991 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 23 Jan 91 p 1

["(ZJK)"-signed report: "Slovakia Is Waiting for a Reply"]

[Text] Bratislava—At a meeting with journalists yesterday—held during a break in proceedings at a session of the Slovak government—Prime Minister V. Meciar expressed a noticeably flexible point of view in connection with the federation's future arrangement. He commented on the importance of Moravia's status and did not exclude the fact that this may involve a land arrangement in the Czech Republic and also a three-member federal state: the Czech Lands, the Moravian-Silesian Lands, and Slovakia. "Only one thing remains unchanged—Slovakia remains a republic," said V. Meciar. He added that if a state entity is established from three lands, Slovakia would have—within the framework of this union—a specific and freer status. The prime minister remarked that these matters are clear to Slovak political representatives but are not being discussed at the moment to avoid compounding complicated developments in the Czech Republic, developments he does not want to influence. Nevertheless, Slovakia is waiting for a Czech reply on these constitutional and legal matters.

Accusations Against Slovak Prime Minister Denied

AU2401145391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Jan 91 p 3

[Statement by Martin Hric, press secretary to the Slovak prime minister; place and date not given: "Answers for the Czech Journalists"]

[Text] Last Friday [18 January], MLADA FRONTA DNES published another edition of the series of anti-Meciar and anti-Slovak lampoons on which it is building its renown, "Questions for the Slovak Prime Minister" by Martin Komarek.

Lo and behold, some of the questions: Why does Meciar retard the progress of screening in Slovakia? Why does he prefer gratifying rhetorics and avoid (...) politically the only important aspect of the screening, which is that the former agents are the most suitable subjects for blackmail?

M. Komarek probably belongs more among those who write than among those who read. The Slovak prime minister takes every opportunity to make his arguments known:

1. Thus far, there has been a SINGLE verified attempt at blackmail, and even that one failed.

2. Contrary to the author's belief, the Government of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak National Council are nowhere near to eating out of the prime minister's hand. There were government resolutions adopted by a majority of one or two votes. The Slovak National Council sessions are under nationwide control by means of television. The sharp "anti-Meciar" interpellations would more than once make MLADA FRONTA DNES's heart jump for joy. Hence the question whether the prime minister controls both bodies by means of the State Security register is quite far-fetched.

3. Following the screening, the only "clean" population group would be the Communists from the period of normalization. That is because they were under an obligation to snitch by a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee resolution. The other group is the State Security agents themselves. They would also pass through the screening without a blemish.

4. It is not realistic to expect that the screening be just of the government and legislatures. Parish priests would follow and journalists, managers of enterprises and plants—down to laborers? Why should I work with an assembly man who could have been an agent?

After the revolution, V. Meciar was the interior minister and is supposed to have had "practically unlimited access" to the archives. This is an enchanting formulation. It is something in the manner of a somewhat pregnant woman. M. Komarek's visions of the Slovak Republic interior minister's powers are very idealistic. He did not even have "a practically limited access" to the archive. He had none. State Security always belonged to the jurisdiction of the federal minister. Hence, if there are "allegedly" some pages missing in the Bratislava register, and the Banska Bystrica register (also allegedly?) vanished altogether, the missing documents are certainly not at Meciar's under the sofa.

Even the unrehearsed teamwork with Deputy Prime Minister J. Kucerak in Trencianske Teplice is suspect. For years the Slovak ministries only translated circulars from Czech into Slovak. Whoever disagrees with this practice, and prefers sharing of powers, is apparently a State Security agent. But, then, why should one screen? Practically everybody in Slovakia is a State Security agent. Meciar would have to have 5 million files under the sofa.

According to M. Komarek, the Slovak press is, so to say, unconditionally loyal to Meciar. Well, it really is only so to say. There is no newspaper that would miss even a minute's chance to criticize him, and they often launch an unsubstantiated attack on him only to demonstrate their courage, independence, and nerves—since nowadays courage is so easy. The most recent case is the Tatragate affair [a scandal around the alleged "sale" of Tatra Mountains National Park to Americans]. The "Greens" combined two draft versions into one, while neither of them was accepted.

If the Slovak press does not attack Meciar as systematically as MLADA FRONTA DNES, then the reason is that Meciar has got hold of the State Security identification cards of the Slovak journalists. The prime minister heads the popularity charts in Slovakia, and the reader will not indefinitely keep buying expensive newspapers that constantly attack his favored personality.

Why is Meciar after the post of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement head? If M. Komarek does not know the answer to this question, then the Slovak prime minister does not know it either. Every single time this idea emerged, he rejected it rapidly and firmly. And that despite the fact that he is very concerned with the VPN movement. His personal popularity actually might contribute to the consolidation of the movement. The work day of the prime minister, however, has 20 hours. For a year now he has not known what family life is. Until a day has 48 hours, Meciar cannot see any possibility of committing himself to two posts of responsibility. Hence, this question would be more appropriate for Minister Klaus, and in his case we do not deal with rumors.

For M. Komarek, even the fact is suspect that a commission exists in Slovakia for drafting the republic constitution. If he only knew that there are actually two such commissions! In addition to the government and Slovak National Council commission, there is also an initiative group of the VPN movement. He should also know, however, that similar commissions operate right under his nose—in the Czech Republic Government and in the federal bodies. I trust that, if possible, he will publish this question in his next article.

In a hackneyed joke, a tramp addresses a lady in the street: "Excuse me ma'am, do you happen to be a prostitute?" When he is slapped, he wonders: My God, cannot one even ask?" I hope that no article will appear in MLADA FRONTA TODAY headlined: "Meciar Would Like To Answer Questions With Slaps." There are ways of asking questions which are appropriate for unethical journalism and gutter press. They could also be given to Martin Komarek:

Is it true that you obtained a Mercedes from the Communists for supporting the screening? Have you received 100,000 dollars from advocates of the independent Slovak state for destroying the relationship of Czechs and Slovaks? Do you suffer from an advanced case of AIDS and therefore write with the idea—after us the deluge?

The reader will understand that I do not mean these questions seriously. M. Komarek, however, seems to be serious about his. Hence, one can sincerely approve of one sentence from his article:

"The Slovak nation (...) certainly will not allow itself to be cheated."

No, certainly not. Moreover, MLADA FRONTA DNES comes to Slovakia only in a limited number of copies. I would, however, like to believe that the Czech nation will not be any less prudent. Furthermore, I would like to bask in the hope that the Czech nation will not allow itself to be cheated either. By Martin Komarek, for instance.

Report on Session of Slovak Republic Government

AU2101111291 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Frantisek Melis report: "Order in Ownership; A Session of the Slovak Republic Government"]

[Text] Bratislava (from our correspondent)—A session of the Slovak Republic Government took place yesterday. At its opening, Prime Minister Meciar appealed to the relevant ministers to do everything necessary in assuming powers transferred from the individual ministries of the federal government by 15 February.

The government acknowledged information supplied by Minister for International Relations Milan Knazko on his meeting with the consul general of the Republic of Hungary. He advised him of the ministry's astonishment over the content of the interview granted by State Secretary Tamas Katona to the daily MAGYAR HIRLAP. According to Katona, anti-Czech, anti-Hungarian, and anti-Jewish feelings are spreading in Slovakia. The government also approved the plan on its main tasks for the first half of 1991 and the statute of the Office of the Slovak Republic Government.

It rejected the Federal Assembly draft constitutional law on state internal emergencies because, according to Vladimir Meciar's news briefing, the draft submitted by the federal government was not legally precise and allowed for an unlimited variety of interpretations. Moreover, it did not respect the division of powers between the republics and thus provided tremendous power for the federal government. It is not a question of mistrust but of legal and political security, the prime minister emphasized.

Furthermore, the government adopted a policy for proceeding in cases where real property ownership is to be established. Its purpose, according to the comments by Justice Minister Ladislav Kosta at the news conference, is to form a complex and consistent system of registration of all relationships pertaining to ownership and usage. The first stage of this reorganization of the ownership relations, which, among other things, includes the establishment of the land-registration offices as central bodies providing citizens with all required information pertaining to ownership, should be completed by the end of this year.

Great attention was given to the report on dealing with the problems arising between the Greek Catholic and the Orthodox Churches. Adolf Smolik, government plenipotentiary for dealing with these problems, conveyed, among other things, that the churches have not agreed in even a single case on passing the property onto one or the other side. Therefore, he and other members of the commission had to make the decisions, and by 31 December of last year, ownership still had to be settled in 44 of the 125 communities. Thus the plenipotentiary's activity will be extended until 30 June. Further, the government passed a resolution on terminating the Commission of the Slovak Republic Government on Dealing With Issues Pertaining to Romany Citizens because its work has not progressed even after several changes, and its sessions have pushed through narrow social interests and dealt with personal disputes. The government adopted the motion on securing funds from the Slovak National Council budget and on the realization of the joint project of reconstructing and completing the Bratislava Kramary and Bezrucova Street hospitals through Czechoslovak-French investment cooperation. The French Government will provide 350 million francs for equipment for the two hospitals and 710 million korunas will be assigned to the project from the state budget of the Slovak Republic.

The Slovak Republic prime minister also commented on the disproportional increase in the price of the Favorit cars [Skoda] to the point that the producer will increase the price as long as there are buyers. He rejected the opinion that in this respect we should speak of hyperinflation because inflation here progresses as expected. He also commented on the dissatisfaction of the miners in Horna Nitra following the government-approved assistance in the amount of 200 million korunas. It should be the first step toward the miners' conducting themselves according to economic laws so that the mining expenses would be covered by the price of coal. Therefore, I do not think it proper, the Slovak prime minister said, that a strike threat is offered instead of economic reasoning.

The Slovak Republic Government gave its consent to the draft General Agreement for 1991, which is to be signed at a joint session at the end of January by representatives of the federal, Czech, and Slovak governments, representatives of employers' and entrepreneurs' associations, and of trade unions at the federal and national levels. The government also dealt with other issues.

KDH Demands Slovak Control of Taxation, Prices

AU2401123691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 21 Jan 91 p 5

["Excerpts" from the "Position of the Economic Club of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Presidium on the Radical Economic Reform"—reprinted from the 16 January issue of SLOVENSKY DENNIK, KDH daily]

[Text] The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] will consistently support:

The expeditious issuance of a law on the Slovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry and other nongovernmental institutions for initiating and promoting international cooperation. The establishment of special Slovak sections for cultural and trade affairs under the commercial departments of [Czechoslovak] representative missions abroad. The development of the activity of the Slovak Republic Ministry for International Relations and the transfer of jurisdiction over foreign affairs to Slovak bodies. The reassessment of the system of the 20-percent surcharge on imports, a measure which, in addition to the three devaluations of the koruna, represents another impediment to the development of many Slovak enterprises.

The embodiment in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic of the principle that Slovak Republic bodies are responsible for, and have authority over, the management of the economy and its social repercussions, by which we mean that questions of taxation, prices, customs duties, and foreign economic relations, as well as banking questions on the territory of Slovakia, will be under their jurisdiction.

Miklosko Explains Slovak Opposition to Screenings

AU2401114291 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 22 Jan 91 p 1

[Interview with Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by Juraj Gressner; place and date not given: "Why (Not) Screen?"; first paragraph is SMENA introduction]

[Text] One of the most widely discussed topics at the moment is the screening of deputies and government members. This was approved by the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council.

[Gressner] The Slovak National Council [SNR] and the Slovak Republic Government have, to date, not entirely expressed their views on this issue....

[Miklosko] Last weekend in Casta, we discussed the issue of screening late into the night. This is an extraordinarily complicated issue. I do not know who was interested in it, but—in my opinion—this problem was brought up and approved too soon in the Federal Assembly. The Czech National Council also agreed with it. The SNR and the Slovak Government are more restrained. A situation which manifests itself in nervousness and tension, however, has arisen as a consequence of this.

[Gressner] In this connection, people are saying that you do not want to agree to screenings because you are trying to shield certain deputies and government members who have a dubious past.

[Miklosko] I do not share this feeling. I am aware of one thing that gnaws at me inside: If the screening process is unleashed, no one will halt it. We cannot imagine that we are rescreening the legislature and the government and that we will go no further. The mass media, all large enterprises, and institutions would certainly follow. It is only a step from them to security officers.

If we want to bring to account those who collaborated with the State Security, then it is logical that even greater responsibility must be borne by the professional security staff. I view the whole issue as one gigantic avalanche which may be triggered into uncontrollable motion. For this reason, I am reluctant and reserved about the screenings.

Slovak Republic Wants Independent Dam Completion

AU2401114591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Jan 91 p 3

[Olga Vavrova article: "A Step Out of Deadlock; Alternative 'C': Dam Only on Czechoslovak Territory"]

[Text] Following many months of waiting for even the slightest indication of Budapest's readiness to contribute in a reasonable way to the completion of the cost-intensive hydroelectric power project on the Danube, a new tone has now been heard from our side. At its last meeting, the Slovak Republic Government considered possible alternative solutions to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Danube dam system and endorsed alternative "C" that makes it possible to complete the Gabcikovo dam on our territory without participation by the Hungarian side. It assigned responsibility for the tasks of examining the technical solution of this alternative with emphasis on its ecological aspects, of securing in financial terms the project design, and of starting work on the implementation of this alternative.

This approach to the solution of the inherited problems concerning the completion of the Danube dam system suggests that the hopes that the Hungarian side would show good will have dissipated and that it is no longer possible to idly accept its more or less transparent tactical maneuvers and the clamor of "masses" of laymen in lieu of a sober dialogue among experts. It is becoming apparent that even the much-touted interest of the Hungarian side to have independent international experts examine the disputed issue of the project's economic benefits and ecological repercussions is nothing but delaying tactics: As we have repeatedly heard, the Hungarian side would regard the international experts' recommendation as neither conclusive nor binding. Unless, perhaps, the experts recommended the Hungarian version—to dismantle Nagymaros and leave Gabcikovo incomplete.

The deadlock in which the construction of the Danube dam found itself in the phase of the project's completion began to change in our country a few months ago. On the basis of a Slovak Republic Government decision of August 1990, six groups of experts were formed to consider various problem areas—international law, water economy, ecology, hydro-technological and energy issues, etc. These groups of experts spent several months considering alternatives "A" to "G," i.e. alternatives ranging from the completion of the project in accordance with the original blueprint (alternative "A") up to its gradual dismantling and the restoration of the original condition of the landscape (alternative "G"). It is perhaps interesting to note that calculations of the aggregate economic effect of alternative "G" for the CSFR economy show a loss of 72.9 billion korunas (Kcs).

The endorsement of alternative "C"—which provides for damming the Danube on our territory, instead of the originally planned and almost completed dam at Dunakiliti—gives our experts the opportunity to pay particular attention to ecological questions. Some opponents of the dam project who stubbornly stick to general proclamations about the importance of the environment have labeled the alternative "C" the "defiant alternative" and have been warning against it for quite some time, using as an argument the totally groundless accusation that we want to steal the Danube from the

Hungarians. Fortunately, the Danube flows also through our sovereign territory and the question of whether we have or do not have a claim to the use of its hydroelectric potential has been considered by experts on international law.

As a matter of fact, international law will certainly have something to say also on an issue as fundamental as Hungary's unilateral withdrawal from the interstate agreement on the construction of the joint Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Danube dam system. It seems that our passivity on this matter of principle has been replaced by active preparation of a legal settlement: The minister of forestry and water economy was assigned the task at the last session of the Slovak government to quantify the losses incurred by Czechoslovakia as a result of Hungary's withdrawal from the joint construction of the water dam system and to submit a report about this to Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar by the end of January. The information (imparted to us) that this quantification of damage is to be part of a catalogue of background documents for international negotiations is another indication that the period of patient reliance on some gesture from the violator of the interstate agreement is over.

Second-Round Elections Held in Slovak Communities

AU2401123391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

["NO, CTK"-report: "There Will Be a Third Round; Second-Round Elections in Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— Second-round elections in local self-administration bodies were held in 31 districts of Slovakia on Saturday, 19 January. The elections were held in only 142 communities in which citizens did not vote in [the local elections in] November 1990, instead of 150 communities as planned, because in eight communities not a single candidate for the post of mayor had been nominated. Another 15 communities failed to submit lists of candidates for deputies. [passage omitted] A total of 43,197 voters were eligible to vote in the Saturday elections. The results of the Saturday second-round elections will be announced tomorrow, 22 January, after being processed at the Slovak Statistical Office. [passage omitted]

Slovak Stand on Coal Miners' Demands Expressed

AU2401124391

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 22 January on pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,000-word interview with Jozef Kucerak, deputy prime minister of the Slovak Republic, by E. Zitnansky entitled "Forgotten Miners?" In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Kucerak responds to the demand of Slovak brown coal mines for a subsidy of 1.4 billion korunas (Kcs) for 1991.

Kucerak rejects the miners' charge that the Slovak government "does not want to deal" with the financial problems of Slovak brown coal mines. He claims, however, that these problems can no longer be solved in the same way as in the past when Slovak coal mines used to receive an "automatic" annual subsidy of over Kcs1.5 billion. In this context, he expresses surprise at the "populist notion" that "since the Slovak government took over responsibility for some branches, including mines, it will be more generous in handing out subsidies than the federal budget." He points out that "neither the federal budget nor the budgets of the republics foresee any subsidies for branches and enterprises that can earn their own living, let alone subsidies that would allow productions to survive which have no future."

Kucerak believes that it is unfair to accuse the government of "having forgotten" the miners because it is not the government but the legislature that ultimately decides on the distribution of budget funds. The budget, in which the parliament did not foresee any funds for coal mining, is a law, and the government must comply with it. To demonstrate the government's concern, Kucerak also points out that at its session on 17 January the Slovak government approved Kcs200 million in "returnable" assistance to Slovak coal mines to help them bridge their current financial pinch.

In the deputy prime minister's opinion, the only way for Slovak coal mines to recoup their production costs is to charge higher prices for their coal. In this context he dispels the fear that, in the event of a price increase, consumers would opt for the cheaper Czech coal. He says that at a recent meeting with him the largest consumers of Slovak coal (such as the Novaky power station) confirmed that, even if the coal mines were to increase their prices, Slovak coal would still be cheaper for them, in view of the low cost of transportation. Kucerak admits that this would also mean higher electricity prices and higher production costs for major Slovak electricity consumers (such as the Ziar aluminum works). He expresses the conviction, however, that only this form of price pressure will force Slovak manufacturers to limit energy-intensive types of production and start conserving energy. He also says that an increase in the wholesale price of electricity would not necessarily affect the population because, "in view of the small proportion of electricity consumed in households, it would not be necessary to increase the electricity retail price right away."

Soviets Close Border Crossing; No Reason Given

LD2501114791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] The Soviet border guard has restricted entry into the Soviet Union. Accordingly, passenger traffic will be halted today at the border crossings at Tiszabecs and Barabas [northeastern Hungary], not even Hungarians traveling with special permits for special family events will be allowed to cross.

According to a report from the commander of the Nyirbator border crossing district, the Soviet side did not give any reason for the decision, but it indicated that beginning tomorrow, the former system will be restored.

Jeszensky, Horn, Others Discuss Foreign Affairs

LD2401223191 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1940 GMT 24 Jan 91

["News Background" program with Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszensky; Gyula Horn, chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee; journalist Endre Gomori; and host Akos Mester]

[Excerpts] [Mester] Our guests are Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Gyula Horn, and Endre Gomori, independent journalist dealing with politics.

Let us start with the simple question of whether Hungarian foreign policy has some guiding principle that declares those international to which affairs we want to commit ourselves, and those we do not. If this is too general, perhaps we can relate it to a concrete issue, that is, why we have not sent a combat unit or units to the Gulf war, and why, on the other hand, we have sent a small group whose participation is rather a gesture in a certain aspect.

[Jeszenszky] I will start then, because I am responsible for these issues, these decisions, to a certain extent. The guiding principle of Hungary's foreign policy today is respect for the values of Western civilization accepted today in the democratic countries in Europe and outside Europe, as well as a foreign policy in accordance with this. We could, in fact, talk a lot about human and minority rights that also represent our basic principles, although they are in connection with the former principle, and I could say that we form our relations with our neighbors, with the European powers, and with the other states of the world on the basis of this. It is also due to this set of values that we are not staying outside the Gulf conflict. Furthermore, I think the solution the National Assembly has chosen at the proposal of the governmenent corresponds entirely to the weight we have promised in this conflict, to our possibilities—both military and economic. It is a demonstrative act by all means, and the form we have chosen, the humanitarian form, also indicates that we really do want to help in this; we not only want to help the sick—mainly Arab sick—but this is also how we want to contribute to the settling of the crisis.

[Horn] Let me comment on this please. In my opinion, two basic things should guide us. One is that we have to catch up with the developed countries. It is obvious that to do this, we have to mobilize and to make use of our existing facilities. Furthermore, as civilized, democratic orders are usually represented by the developed countries, it is obvious that Hungary should progress toward this direction.

The other thing is that the openness of the country should be considered to a full extent; in the interest of this we have to establish relations with everyone with whom relations may be useful. One more thing in connection with the Gulf crisis: In my opinion, the allied countries did not need Hungary's participation with military force. On the other hand, however, they welcomed our symbolic presence by the medical unit.

[Mester] There is some discussion about a state secret that promises to become quite a scandal—that is, what did the Hungarian National Assembly vote in favor of? I would like to ask: Should this kind of commitment not concern Hungarian pubilc opinion, too? [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] Obviously, no one would want to violate the law on the state secrets. I have to say that the public would be quite dissapointed if it senses some kind of sensation, or decisions and debates that should shake them. Hungary's participation should comply with the principles that we outlined here and in which there is great agreement—at least, this is the present stand of the government and the National Assembly.

[Horn] There are legislatures where decisions are made in open session, there are others where such questions are decided in closed session. In this case, the National Assembly and the government decided to hold a closed session, it was really was not such a big thing. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Continuing Geza Jeszenszky's line, we can safely say that a new regionalism is being formed in Europe, and it is said that this will facilitate the general European cooperation. I wonder, however, whether one should not be worried that the new organizations will, perhaps, bring new isolations, new anger, and confrontations?

[Horn] In my view, such a regional agreement is the Pentagonal, or the threesome—the Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Polish cooperation. The point here is: Are they directed against anybody? None of them is directed against anyoney. It means that the three or the five countries want to cooperate in various fields of life and society and want to strengthen cooperation. Moreover, it is my conviction that the threefold relation system can facilitate the entry of all three of us into the European Economic Communities and the Euroepan integration organizations. Thus, this is not in contrast of the great endeavor of creating the common European home.

[Jeszenszky] The remark, which others might take exception to, is justified from certain points of view, for it is quite true that in certain circles this causes anxiety. It must be pointed out regarding both formations, however, that these are open organizations. [passage omitted]

[Horn] In the threesome cooperation the main point is the following: By and large, all three of us are fomulating the same objectives: catching up with Europe, creation of [words indistinct] economy, and so on. In this, the combining element is much bigger and of much larger significance than the dividing element in the past decades. [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] This trilateral cooperation does indeed have a historical significance. The reflex fear of a so-called little entente really existed in Hungary and surely it exists today as well. [passage omitted] So, from this point of view too, this breaking out of the mold is very significant. At the same time, as I have said, the triangle is not a closed one, nor it is a bloc. Thus, these three countries are close to each other in their efforts to get into Europe; however, it is possible for other countries to catch up with the three. Still, I consider this precisely as the demarcation line, but this does not mean that this line of separation must be lasting.

These three countries, in their internal arrangements, in political pluralism, in respect for human rights and thus in respect for minority rights, too have advanced to such a great extent—we, of course, are a member of the Council of Europe while the other two countries are moving toward it—I see Gyula Horn....

[Horn, interrupting] I raised my eyebrows a bit when human rights were mentioned.

[Jeszenszky] Well, it is the case, but sometimes one gives the benefit of doubt. Then there are surely countries in the region that have an even longer way to go. This trilateral cooperation can also help, or, if you like, can be a motivator for faster progress.

[Mester] So this must also be understood as, say, Eastern-Central European military cooperation. This, then, will become at a later stage an integrated part of the Western European defense organization. If this happens, the question still remains whether this will mean, ab ovo, that regional neutrality is inconceivable. Some people nurture hopes, or, if you like, illusions.

[Jeszenszky] The word neutrality always has meaning at times of war conflict or a situation similar to a war. In other words, in the cold war neutrality is a very attractive solution or position. The Paris Charter fixed such a moment in the history of Europe when we had realistic hopes that confrontation—at least in Europe—would in effect be buried and in this sense; if there is no confrontation then there is no sense in neutrality either. This does not mean a country must belong to a military bloc under any circumstances. It only means that it is not important to declare it, to delineate it the way Switzerland or Austria have, for example.

[Horn] I do not believe it is the military cooperation, the military aspect, that is the essence of this trilateral cooperation, but that prior to the earliest possible joining, the EC and other Western European organizations of integration the three countries should coordinate their stands in the political sphere—and, of course, also do so in respect of the Warsaw Pact. It would be a very good thing if we could coordinate our defense policies—and we will certainly do so—but I consider it much more important that even in military affairs, we should seek cooperation with countries more advanced then these three because the defense strength of the Hungarian Army needs very great modernization but we have no money for this. [passage omitted]

[Gomori] I believe it is worthwhile to dispel certain illusions regarding the political priorities of the West, not only of the United States, but also of the EC. What I mean is that approximately one and a half months ago, the United States and the EC for the first time clearly came out in favor of Gorbachev as the trustee of Russian-Soviet stability, European stability, and worldwide stability. This position is changing, through the withdrawal of assistance, through suspending the discussions on Soviet membership in the IMF and the World Bank, but these touch only on the edge of the problems. In the really big question, the affair of the crisis in the Baltics, the West is showing a very cautious policy. It has been said that the Bush-Gorbachev meeting will take place in February, so the Baltics has been set aside in this matter. I believe that the situation at the moment is that the stability of the Soviet Union—or let us call it the Soviet Russian state—within its current borders, enjoys priority from a Western viewpoint as opposed to promoting a Soviet radical reform. [passage omitted]

[Horn] What, for me, is of primary importance is that we should not aggravate the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Second, already in March 1990, we specified that it was necessary to conclude a new agreement with the Soviet Union, a political agreement, and a new cooperation agreement, in which we clarified the principles that we would leave one another in peace and that we would try for normal cooperation.

The third point, which I consider to be perhaps the most important in light of the new situation, is that we should accelerate the process of approaching the other parts of Europe. This is absolutely necessary. Many people are increasingly pointing this out. In my judgement, the current East European situation—not only that of Hungary—should encourage us to accelerate the process, because unpredictable developments can still be expected in the Soviet Union and with some of our neighbors.

[Mester] Maybe I am being a bit pedestrian, but all the same I think if we say that this region could be a creative part of European stability, it is not merely an obscure sentence spoken into thin air, because we—this region—can contribute to the stability of the entire continent while the region itself is unstable. Well, it is unstable economically, from all viewpoints.

[Jeszenszky] Our stability is certainly very important from this viewpoint, and this trilateral cooperation is welcomed from this viewpoint. In connection with the Pentagonal there are more reservations, but if it functions well and if it functions in the manner I believe it will, then this can also be viewed in the same way. The test for the West is whether the West, beyond the words and moral support, perceives the economic interest that would be important for it to perceive; furthermore, we do not wish for aid or donations—that the transition of this region, the creation of a market economy should succeed. Perhaps it would be difficult to compare this to the Gulf war, and such a thing would be an exaggeration, the two cannot be compared. In any event, it is a primary economic and military interest, because I think that it is not in the interest of the West for this region to be close to it in some respect, from a political, security policy viewpoint, while in the meantime there is a new iron curtain in connection with an anarchic Soviet Union living in serious economic crisis. If this transition is successful, it will serve as an example for the Soviet Union or even China. [passage omitted]

[Gomori] Yesterday, for example, the Poles were told that 33 per cent of Poland's state depots would be cancelled, together with those of Egypt. [passage omitted] I know that the structure of the Hungarian debts is different, that the proportion of state debts is less and that of bank debts is larger. [passage omitted] Everyone knows this is unavoidable: Helmut Schmidt is no amateur in this sphere, and a year and a half ago he raised the problem of some kind of moratorium. [passage omitted] This question of a moratorium must somehow be raised sooner or later. [passage omitted] There are financial techniques and diplomatic methods for a moratorium, and in my modest opinion the stability mentioned by the foreign minister, which is really a cardinal question, cannot be realized without this.

[Jeszenszky] Economic constraint is very unpleasant. There are, at the same time, good results from this. It forces those who are constrained—at the moment, Hungary and the other countries of the region—to introduce changes that they could not have otherwise done or would not have been prepared to introduce. Properly speaking, the entire political turnabout in Hungary and Central Europe can be attributed to this. If there had not been economic bankruptcy then I certainly would not be sitting here at this table.

[Horn] I would like to add that a distinction must be drawn between the three countries, as they were the issue at hand. Only a negligible proportion of Poland's stock of debts is of state origin [as heard], so it is easy to cancel them there. Czechoslovakia has nowhere near the same amount of debts as we or Poland have. So every country has its own characteristic situation. I fully agree that there is no question here of rescheduling. Earlier, in Brussels, we raised the question of examining the possibility of reducing interests, of reducing debt-servicing. Of course, I understand that the bankers still insist on them [as heard] because no request can be put a question mark on the country's solvency.

[Mester] Can this matter not be seen in some other way? It was mentioned earlier that we could be deluding ourselves about our being as important to the West as we would like to be. [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] Such a thing is very difficult to determine. [passage omitted] I think, on the one hand, that this always changes, it changes historically and from minute to minute. When the transformation in the Soviet Union a few weeks, a few months ago, was perhaps more promising, then I thought that very many Western businessmen were looking not so much to the smaller region of Central Europe, but to the large Soviet region or China. Now, however, when there is a standstill there, attention is immediately directed more toward Hungary. So I do not consider it something to be happy about, because for us it would be much more reassuring if our neighbor were a democracy, a democracy in formation. Seen from the viewpoint where attention is directed, however, my conviction was that what happens here can be an example not only for the Soviet and Chinese regions, but also for the Third World.

[Horn] This region, Central-Eastern Europe, is, properly speaking, a crisis zone. It is fraught with enormous tensions, and this is how it is viewed by most Western countries. As a consequence, the overcoming of this crisis is at least as important in the coming period as, for example, the action taken against the Iraqi aggression.

[Jeszenszky] My experience is that the earlier great interest in Hungary has ceased. This is understandable because changes have taken place everywhere, or nearly everywhere. Western Europe, however, is increasingly recognizing that if it does not help, with effective, radical collaboration, then Eastern Europe may sink into an even deeper crisis and this would destabilize all of Europe. Indeed, it could be the source of very serious conflicts on the continent. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Thank you for the conversation, and I shall conclude by saying that "News Background" may be shown again in two weeks—I do not know for sure. What I do know is that beginning in March, television's leadership will have no need for the program. Until then, I say goodbye to the viewers.

Defense Minister Interviewed on Warsaw Pact, Gulf

AU2401131891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 22 Jan 91 pp 1,4

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "More Information From the Gulf"]

[Text] [Vajda] Mr. Fur, you signed an agreement with your counterpart in Prague. Why was this trip to Prague so urgent, and why did you only spend one and a half hours there?

[Fur] Signing the agreement was urgent because the well-known circumstances and the approaching disintegration of the Warsaw Pact greatly justified this agreement. We need speed to replace the previous cooperation system with bilateral military cooperation of truly equal states. Such a cooperation will make it possible to develop normal relations between our armies and, in addition to the regular contacts between the two armies, this agreement is also politically important because it creates confidence building and open bilateral relations free of secrecy. The short negotiating time of one and a half hours is definitely connected with the situation. This short time shows that I myself must not leave the country for too long; furthermore, our prime minsiter also asked us to return from Prague as soon as possible because everyone is needed now in his own country.

[Vajda] This agreement has several interesting points and moments. One of them is that the two sides will mutually announce the expected troops deployment and larger military maneuvers. What does this mean?

[Fur] This point is very important because the goal is precisely to avoid the chances of possible conflicts. Each side could easily misinterpret the redeployment of troops and each side could interpret such a move as some sort of unfriendly gesture or even a display of force, and this is not true by far. Both Hungary and the CSFR are now eliminating a previous Warsaw Pact deployment system—namely the need to deploy troops in their Western parts, according to the military doctrine prevailing at the time. Obviously, we must now radically change this disproportionate deployment because both countries now have a defensive military doctrine, and they also implement this new doctrine in practice. Thus, both countries have to proportionally redeploy their military forces according to this new doctrine. Thus, this redeployment serves the elimination of the previous system, rather than a threat against anyone.

[Vajda] The Hungarian press reported about Prague's intention to redeploy two Czechoslovak divisions to Slovak territory. Has the Czechoslovak defense minister informed you about this?

[Fur] Yes, he has. He said they would indeed deploy two divisions here because previously there were hardly any combat-ready armed units in this area of the CSFR. The CSFR defense minister also informed us that the redeployment of armed forces from the Czech basin to Slovakia would only affect one-third of the armed forces; thus, this definitely does not mean some kind of emphasis on the eastern part of the country, as opposed to the previous emphasis on the western part. As I also informed my colleague, we are also redeploying our forces from the Dunantul area to the Alfold area, which this also serves proportion, rather than attack purposes.

[Vajda] Both countries are represented in the Gulf conflict: Hungary sent a medical unit, and the CSFR sent a chemical warfare defense unit. Did you discuss this common problem during your talks?

[Fur] Yes, we did and, based on our minimal information, we tried to evaluate the pace of the conflict so far, as well as the expected developments. We came to the sad conclusion, however, that we really do not have reliable information to enable us to properly evaluate the activity so far or the expected developments from a military viewpoint. Therefore, my CSFR colleague came up with the justified demand to provide us more detailed information about the situation in the Gulf war, the pace of combat actions, and the expected developments. We would like to convey this demand to the U.S. military leadership in the near future. We are involved in this war not only as countries that justify this war, but also as countries that participate in the common effort. The CSFR sent a chemical warfare defense unit to the Gulf, and Hungary is represented with a medical unit.

[Vajda] Can we expect such a request for more details from the Hungarian side as well?

[Fur] Definitely, and we also discussed this matter; both of us could try to urge the supply of more detailed information about the Gulf war.

[Vajda] Hungary is surrounded by five neighbors. We have bilateral agreements with two of them. What next?

[Fur] We would like to sign such an agreement with our biggest neighbor, the Soviet Union, as soon as possible. I have repeatedly said that normal good neighborly military relations with the Soviet Union are vital for the Hungarian Army because, without this and without the supply of spare parts and weapons, the Hungarian Army would simply not be able to function. Normal, balanced, and relatively good-neighborly relations with our big neighbor in all areas, including the political area, are very important for us also for other reasons. This remains to be our goal even if both the Hungarian public opinion and the Hungarian Government and policy condemn the Soviet interference in the Baltic states for example. We are striving for good relations with the Soviet Union in the future too. Naturally, we are doing the same toward the other two neighbors, Yugoslavia and Austria. I very much hope that we will sign a similar agreement with Austria soon, and I am confident that the temporarily obstacles that currently hinder a Yugoslav-Hungarian bilateral military agreement will dissipate.

[Vajda] If I understand this correctly, these obstacles are not coming from our side...?

[Fur] Not at all. Some domestic policy developments in Yugoslavia are slowing this process down. Furthermore, as is well-known from various press reports, we are accused of some arms supplies, and this has made the Yugoslav-Hungarian military cooperation slightly difficult.

Albanian Opposition Leader Arrives in Budapest

LD2401144991 Budapest MTI in English 1408 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—Gramos Pashko, founding president of the opposition Albanian Democratic Party arrived in Budapest for a short visit on Thursday, at the invitation of Hungarian MPs [members of parliament].

The Albanian opposition leader is to be received by speaker of parliament, Gyorgy Szabad and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

Pashko will also meet with leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF], the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ].

The president of the Albanian Democratic Party, already officially registered in Albania, informed the press of the developments in his country on Thursday.

He said the party had succeeded in postponing elections, originally scheduled for February 2, to March 31, thus creating a realistic possibility for the Albanian opposition to win. The aim of the opposition is to make Albania a state adapting to European norms, through peaceful, democratic means. The programme of the Democratic Party is based on the respect of human rights, a state governed by the rule of law and a privatized market economy.

Gramos Pashko was optimistic about possibilities of the peaceful reconstruction of Albania.

He also spoke about the situation of Albanians living in Yugoslavia saying that the attitude towards them gives cause for worry. Endeavours for the restoration of greater-Albania, however, are no solution to the problem, he said.

The matter of ethnic minorities should be settled in accordance with the norms of the Helsinki process, guaranteeing democratic freedom.

It should be clear to everyone that without a peaceful Balkans there will be no peaceful Europe, Pashko concluded.

Meets With National Assembly Speaker

LD2401183891 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—On Thursday Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, received Gramos Pashko, founding president of the Albanian Democratic Party, in his office during his current visit to Budapest at the invitation of Hungarian MP's.

During the cordial meeting, the Albanian opposition leader put Gyorgy Szabad in the picture about political conditions in his country, including the chances for democratic changes and peaceful transition. He spoke appreciatively of the help given by the visiting representatives of the Hungarian parliament's foreign affairs committee.

Gyorgy Szabad informed his guest of parliament's readiness to send observers, at official request, to the Albanian elections due in March, and to transfer experience in legislative work after the elections.

Albanian Situation Discussed

LD2401232491 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Gramos Pashko, spokesman of the Albanian Democratic Party [PDSh], met journalists today in the legislature. Mr Pashko, the first Albanian opposition leader to visit Hungary has arrived in Budapest at the invitation of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly. [passage omitted]

Will the PDSh, which is only a month and a half old but which already has a membership of 50,000, win at the parliamentary elections scheduled for 31 March and will Ramiz Alia and his communist party continue to tolerate their activity?

[Begin Pashko recording, in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] [passage omitted] On the one hand, the wave of protests by the population is now increasing—the demonstrations and strikes of recent weeks have shown this—and this helped us. On the other hand, as a result of the demonstrations, the country's leaders have stepped onto the road of reforms and no longer care for ideology but concentrate on maintaining their power. President Ramiz Alia no longer presents himself as the representative of the Communists but as a person who is independent of parties, a supporter of a new democratic constitution.

The people are divided and so is the ruling party. [passage omitted] The question is whether we succeed in preventing the outbreak of a civil war. If things proceed peacefully, Ramiz Alia will tolerate our activity—thus a Hungarian road is possible; however, a Romanian one cannot be ruled out either, nor can a Tienanman Square type of reaction by the authorities. [end recording]

The PDSh spokesman emphasized the great assistance and good advice received recently from the Hungarian representatives who visited Tirana.

Economy Said To Be Moving in 'Right Direction'

AU2401135991 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Jan 91 p 7

["(B.M.)" -signed interview with Minister Without Portfolio Katalin Botos; place and date not given: "An Oversensitive Tank"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] Following a series of government reshuffles, a renowned financial expert was appointed as minister—minister without portfolio. During the 1991 budgetary debate, a representative from the opposition metaphorically said that Ferenc Rabar—ex-finance minister—was a hunter who had gone out to "hunt" with his bill, Katalin Botos had "shot down" the bill, Mihaly Kupa—the new finance minister—had "grilled" the bill, and the Hungarian people had been forced to "eat" the whole thing, whether it wanted to or not.

Katalin Botos, who is known for her outspokenness, told us she had "elaborated" her sphere of duty, and that these duties were accepted by the prime minister; his decision reflects his acquiescence.

[NEPSZAVA] We know very little about your sphere of duty. Why was it necessary to divide the Finance Ministry?

[Botos] With the closure of the National Planning Office, the Finance Ministry also took over the responsibility for the calculations pertaining to the entire national economy. These additional duties became too much of a burden for the ministry, which is essentially an economic top ministry.

[NEPSZAVA] In other words, you were appointed to supervise the so-called monetary sphere....

[Botos] Yes, and there is nothing extraordinary about that. The legal situation for the supervision of banks differs from one country to another. For example, in the FRG, the president of the republic appoints the chief supervisor of the national bank following a suggestion made by the government and a hearing of the issuing bank. During the debate on the law concerning the Hungarian issuing bank, everyone agreed in principle that the government should supervise the bank. As far as the division of labor within the government is concerned, I will be responsible for measures pertaining to the money-market and the capital-market. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZAVA] As the person in charge of presenting the budget, how do you view Hungary's current economic situation?

[Botos] It is encouraging. The situation is not hopeless, it does not lack perspective. That does not mean that our financial situation is good. I would not like to delude anyone. It will not be easy to pay the checks of ruined businesses within a short period of time; however, the things that are currently beginning to move in the economy are definitely moving in the right direction. Nevertheless, these positive moves also require sacrifices, and the burden will not be spread evenly across different social strata. This is not something we want. Additional burdens will be borne by everyone, but we must still enable people to increase their capital; this would not only be to their benefit, it would also serve the country's interests. In 1991, the legitimate and unavoidable inflation will "steal" some purchasing power from the pockets of all those who live off their wages and salaries. It will affect businessmen in the same way, their expenses will also grow. They will not be able to shift all their burdens onto the market. The question is: How do we make the population accept all this? It is incredibly difficult for people to accept that their previous living standards are falling, that no one wants the product that they used to be able to afford, and that according to Western standards, we waste too much, when you consider our total production. That is the bitterest legacy of the previous regime, and several political forces would like to put the blame on today. Yet, it is precisely because of this awkward legacy that we are forced to align today. Nevertheless, the current price increase factors are unique, not recurring! If the economy adapts to these stricter norms, inflation can be slowed down. The Hungarian people is entrepreneurial and full of ideas, and it will most certainly find good markets for its activities. That would already be advantageous for all of us. [passage omitted]

Report Presented on 1990 Foreign Trade

LD1801195691 Budapest MTI in English 1104 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 18, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—According to figures from the Ministry of International Economic Relations, Hungary's convertible trade in 1990 showed a record surplus of $945 million, due to a combination of a dynamic growth in exports and only a modest rise in imports.

In dollar terms, the value of hard currency exports grew by 18 percent over 1989 (the growth in volume was 13-14 per cent), and reached $7 billion for the first time in the country's history.

Imports grew by 13 per cent in value, mainly as a result of oil purchases to make up for soviet Shortfalls, and increased by 4 per cent in volume.

Evidence of Hungary's switch from ruble to convertible markets during 1990 was provided by figures for exports to the advanced industrialised countries, which were up 21 per cent, while imports rose by only 5 per cent.

Exports to industrialised countries represented 73 per cent of total convertible exports and 53 per cent of exports as a whole, and of this 35 per cent went to EC countries, compared to 27 per cent in 1989.

The proportion of Hungary's imports which came from the EC also rose last year from 29 to 33 per cent of the total.

Exports to the Federal Republic of Germany saw the largest increase - 42 per cent - and accounted for 23 per cent of the country's convertible exports and 17 per cent of the exports as a whole.

Imports from FRG, meanwhile, rose by only 6 per cent and represented 24 per cent of the country's convertible imports and 17.3 per cent of the total.

The share of the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] member countries in Hungary's overall exports grew from 15 to 18 per cent last year, and the total value of Hungrian exports to the EFTA countries grew by 19 per cent.

Total trade with advanced industrial countries outside Europe represented only one third of the turnover with the FRG.

Hungarian exports to developing countries, meanwhile, fell 7 per cent last year, while imports rose by 11 per cent.

Trade with the ruble-accounting countries was transformed, as a 1989 Hungrian surplus of 540 million rubles in 1989 was turned into a slight Hungarian deficit of 2.5 million rubles last year. This was caused partly by tight ruble export licensing rules introduced early last year, and partly by steadily declining trade triggered by the economic problems of the East European countries.

The value of ruble exports fell 24 per cent, and that of imports dropped 18 per cent, while within that figure exports to the Soviet Union were down 15 per cent and imports by 20 per cent.

Hungarian exports to the European Comecon countries fell 36 per cent last year, while imports were down 13 per cent.

As a result of the country's switch from ruble to dollar markets, Hungary's trade with the Comecon countries fell by 15 per cent last year, while trade with convertible countries was up 19 per cent.

While in the mid-eighties, fifty per cent of Hungary's foreign trade was conducted in rubles, by 1990 this figure had fallen to 33 per cent.

The Soviet Union, however, was still Hungary's largest trading partner last year, with 19.9 per cent of total trade, followed by Germany and Austria with 17.1 and 8.7 per cent respectively.

The convertible export pattern saw a favourable change with three-quarters of the $1.09 billion growth in exports coming from the processing and food industries.

The 34 per cent, or $204 million, increase in convertible machinery exports only partially offset the sharp drop - 28 per cent, or 977 million rubles - in ruble machinery exports.

A similar change in the market pattern can be seen in exports of materials and spares, where convertible exports rose by 17 per cent, or $452 million, while ruble exports were 32 per cent, or 566 million rubles, down on the corresponding 1989 figure.

The 24 per cent, or $210 million, growth in hard-currency exports of consumer goods was accompanied by a 14 per cent, or 175 million ruble, drop in equivalent ruble exports.

At the same time, Hungary achieved a hard currency export surplus (12 per cent or $199 million) in its agricultural food exports as a result of a fall in domestic consumption and a rise in some world market prices.

The total volume of Hungary's imports dropped by about three per cent, with ruble imports registering a 17-18 per cent fall and convertible imports a three to four percent rise. Neglecting oil purchases, the latter figure was more or less the same as in 1989.

Hungary's imports of machinery were one per cent up in 1990, of which hard currency machine imports rose by $165 million to 72 per cent.

The proportion of convertible imports to total imports of materials, meanwhile, fell from 51 to 46 per cent.

There was no substantial change in the quantity of Hungary's energy imports, but the ratio of hard-currency to ruble imports saw a sizeable rise, as the former increased by $498 million, as a consequence of cuts in Soviet oil deliveries.

Convertible imports of machinery, of energy and of consumer durables - which saw a $168 million rise - saw the largest growth rates.

Security Increased for U.S., Israeli Embassies

LD2401192991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Embassies of Israel and the United States in Warsaw have asked the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs to strengthen their protection in connection with the possibility of terrorist attacks.

The crisis staff for the prevention and struggle against terrorism has assigned BTR armored carriers for the protection of these embassies. They are manned by police detachments. Constant radio links are kept with the crisis staff. Other security measures have also been introduced; for obvious reasons they are not being revealed.

Increased Soviet Activity Along Borders Reported

AU2401151291 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Jan 91 p 3

['Fed'-signed report: "The USSR Is Reinforcing Its Border With Poland"]

[Text] During the night of Thursday to Friday [January 17- 18], Soviet Army units consisting of 12 to 15 men reinforced all border sentry towers (there are seven or eight in total) along the Polish-Lithuanian border. Reliable sources told us on Monday [21 January] that the new arrivals are not regular border troops, but elite units of "blue beret" commandos from Kaliningrad, especially trained in defending the sea border.

In Soviet units patrolling along the borders and on sentry towers, the guard has been reinforced (until recently, these consisted of two soldiers, now there are at least three).

Close to the Polish sentry tower at Rutka-Tartak, Soviet troops have constructed a new helicopter landing area just across the border in Lithuania. The number of Soviet patrol flights along the border has also increased substantially since the invasion of Lithuania.

It cannot be excluded that in the near future Moscow will send more troops to the border zone. Near the Polish border at Holny-Majera, Soviet troops have been engaged in construction works using a bulldozer. They seem to be constructing a new sentry post or enlarging the old one.

Sounds of military convoys were heard near the Polish-Lithuanian border throughout the night of January 17-18. These were probably troop and military equipment convoys. Light armored personnel carriers provided the escort.

The increased number of Soviet troops in the border zone is also confirmed by eyewitness reports of Polish tourists returning to Poland. They have noticed that the small sentry posts situated at regular intervals along the main highways to control road traffic (so-called GAT [expansion unknown]), are now manned by military units of between 10 and twenty soldiers and not as previously, by single militiamen.

Soviet troops are not only reinforcing the Polish-Lithuanian border. We also learned on Monday that the same thing is happening in the south. Soviet reinforcements have been observed near the Medyka border crossing. Several days ago, they began to put up small barbed-wire obstacles to deter illegal border crossings into Poland.

"There is no need to bring more Army units to the border. We are acting according to our normal plan," said Colonel Dobrowolski of the Polish Army Border Units.

Center Accord Expresses Solidarity With Lithuania

AU2501114191 Warsaw PAP in English 2311 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 22—The Centrum Alliance voiced today their solidarity with Lithuanians and Poles who defend Lithuania's independence. In a communique issued today, the Alliance expressed conviction that determined resistance of Lithuania would end in success.

"We hope that the joint struggle of Lithuanians and Poles will turn into common work aimed to build a free democratic Lithuanian republic—a homeland for all its residents.

"The Soviet troops have attacked another state. This time the target was the capital of Latvia, Riga. Such conduct is nothing new concerning Soviet policy," the document reads.

'Policy of Suppression' Emerging in Baltics

AU2401133891 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 22 Jan 91 p 2

['Jem'-signed untitled commentary]

[Text] The majority of observers, commentators, and people who live in the Baltic republics are agreed on one thing, namely, that in this defiant corner of the USSR, which is trying to exercise its guaranteed constitutional right to sovereignty, only the worst is to be expected. If the events and the fatalities in Lithuania came as something of a shock, the shooting and the victims in Riga are the result of a policy of suppression in the Baltic republics.

Boris Yeltsin, addressing the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, has called this "arm-twisting tactics." The Prime Minister of Estonia Edgar Savisar has publicly asked: "When will it be our turn?" Once again, force and military might is gaining the upper hand over dialogue and peaceful negotiation. Once again, the question arises: Will Moscow's power be sufficiently strong to stifle the natural desires of the Baltic nations to decide their own future?

In the short term, yes. But aiming the guns of Soviet parachutists at the Baltic peoples will not force them to disavow their national aspirations. Any martyr deaths that may result will only succeed in strengthening opposition toward Moscow, fanning the conflict, and increasing tension.

Not much time has passed since the shots were fired in Vilna. The events are still fresh in our minds. In Riga, as in Vilna, we are seeing the same story of repeated denials of responsibility for the order to open fire. In both cases, self-proclaimed national salvation committees—stemming from the pro-Moscow wing of the Communists—have sprung up, ready to seize power. Speculation that the instigators of the shooting in both capitals were the committees acting in conjunction with the military hierarchy and the Kremlin is becoming ever more probable. This is made even more persuasive, because the Communists have never hidden their ambition to take over power, or rather to wrest it from the hands of the legally elected representatives of the Baltic peoples only elected a year ago. This violates rights that were accorded a long time ago but only permitted to be exercised a year ago.

This method of destabilization has crystal clear aims. One has to "prepare" the scene that can later be used to explain—at least in some way—the presence of troops, the repressions, martial law, or even direct presidential rule. Two bombs that were planted and exploded in Tallinn on Sunday night came from the same source as the bombs in Lithuania and Latvia. The Russian Federation Deputies who assembled at a session that was specially called have very good reasons to protest against Gorbachev's acquiescence in the repression of the Baltic peoples. These deputies believe that dictatorship is looming. They know that this means a total pullout from the initiated democratic reforms, the demise of such reforms, and a return to the twilight zone of a former unproductive system that has no intention of accepting its defeat.

On the other hand, how can it be possible that these self-proclaimed organizations in the Baltic republics seemingly exercise control over the Army and internal security forces? This very fact has all the hallmarks of a complicity in which the center is also implicated. Knowing Soviet realities, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion. Before our very eyes—through the spilt blood of the Baltic peoples—a new authoritarian system is in the making. The illegal committees composed from the old party diehards are simply turning into agencies of presidential power.

What is to be done? Despite the bloodshed of the two January nights, it is still not too late to stop the escalation of tragic events through the implementation of democratic measures. The center, however, does not seem to be in any hurry to do this. Has the decision to accept dictatorship already been taken?

Concern About Soviet Generals' 'Exercise Yard'

AU2401134591 Gdansk TYGODNIK GDANSKI in Polish 20 Jan 91 p 3

[Piotr Semka commentary: "The Vilnius Variant"]

[Text] Is there any order in this insanity? There is a lot to indicate that Lithuania has become an exercise yard [poligon] for generals. Today Vilnius, tomorrow Riga and Yerevan, the day after tomorrow Moscow. The changes in Russia seem to be heading in one direction—strongman rule.

Opinion in the streets of Vilnius is uniform: Gorbachev has become a puppet of the generals. I saw how the military behaved in front of the television tower. Tanks deliberately drove into the crowd, and live ammunition was used in situations where there was no danger at all to the soldiers.

Do the generals really want to anger the world?

That night beneath the television tower, international links were not cut off so the world received descriptions of the massacre, although the task of seizing the studios was entrusted to a random battalion. Perhaps the generals found it convenient that Gorbachev, shunned by a disgusted West and angry Russian democrats, would be at the mercy of the Army. They must have thought that after everyone had turned their backs on him, he would only have the Army left, and the Army's outstretched helping hand could then change into a claw.

TASS and the Moscow television news are again telling white lies ("the first shots were fired by the Lithuanians; there were only two victims, including one Army officer," etc.) The meaning of this will not escape the army of journalists and officials. Once again the truth is absent. Even so, it is worth knowing the current official version of the story.

The development of events in Lithuania has caused a range of inconsistencies. Gorbachev himself chose the moment of confrontation, declaring an ultimatum to the Lithuanians which expired six days before the expected war in the Persian Gulf. Over the subsequent 48 hours (11-12 January), however, there was not a single coordinated action. Various buildings in Vilnius were taken over, but without striking at the heart—the parliament. Later it seemed that the general pacification would start on Saturday night, at the same time as the attack on the television tower and the declaration that power had been taken over by the puppet "Salvation Committee" (compare that with events in Poland on 13 December 1981). But the parliament was not attacked. What is more, the following day a Supreme Soviet delegation, with some emissaries from Moscow acting as mediators, decided that the parliament building would not be taken. In other words the "Salvation Committee" was conjured up to negotiate with Landsbergis the following day.

It is certain that a new structure of authorities on a USSR scale is being created in Vilnius. Gorbachev need not be the main actor in it, nevertheless, he is still trying, albeit inconsistently, to keep things under control.

SDP Issues 'Open Letter' to Russian Journalists

LD2401084191 Warsaw PAP in English 0026 GMT 24 Jan 91

["Text" of open letter to Russian journalists by the Polish Journalists Association; place and date not given]

[Text] [no dateline as received] "Attention foreign correspondents, embassy information officers

"Following is the text of an open letter addressed by Polish Journalists Association (SDP) members working with the PAP News Agency to Russian journalists."

"Dear friends. Like most of you, we receive reports from the Soviet Union with sadness and painful surprise. Do the developments in the Baltic republics, Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia really mean that nothing has been left of the perestroika programme?

"As journalists we want to assume position on the truthfulness of Soviet mass media. Both you and we know perfectly well what is hidden behind the announcements of the formation of various 'national salvation committees,' behind requests for help in saving 'socialism,' 'order,' etc. We have gone through it all. When we hear or read that Soviet commandoes without a single shot and without violence 'reinstate order' in a number of Lithuanian institutions in which they discover stockpiled arms—we find that these scenarioes are also familiar to us. Now we can only wait for reports from Moscow on the desecration of Soviet military cemeteries and monuments to outstanding and merited activists in various republics.

"Lech Walesa has been elected Polish president in the first free election after the war. Vaclav Havel became president of Czechoslovakia. Just reach for Soviet newspapers of the early 1980s and the subsequent decade and read about these people who are now our national heroes. You will be able to draw a multitude of conclusions about the functioning and truthfulness of the Soviet mass media.

"We do notice substantial improvements in this field... But what will happen next? The 'Vremya' news bulletin does no longer arouse confidence.

"The events in Vilnius and Riga show that, despite declaring the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact as invalid, the Soviet Union still intends to occupy countries that have the right for an independent existence as states.

"Demonstrations in Moscow against the military action in Vilnius indicate that a considerable part of the Russian nation wants to co-exist with other nations on the principle of neighbourhood between 'the free.' This part of the Russian nation is a great hope of Russia and the world. We are at one with that part and we hope that Russian journalists will be among the Russians fighting for Russia's new image in the world's eyes.

"And one more thing. Make your Russian compatriots realize that once they have chosen to live in other countries, they should conform to the laws of those countries. If they find those laws too heavy or unacceptable, they always have the right to return to their motherland Russia. Recollecting the image of 'Englishmen in their colonies' does not go with our times.

"Signed by the board of the SDP circle in the Polish Press Agency"

Bielecki Interviewed on Foreign, Domestic Issues

AU2401125691 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki by Kazimierz Woycicki; place and date not given: "We Want To Keep Up With Society's Expectations"]

[Text] [Woycicki] Prime Minister, after your first few days in office, how do you assess our country's security in light of the complicated international situation?

[Bielecki] When war broke out in the Persian Gulf, I immediately telephoned our crisis team in the middle of the night and was told that they had already undertaken essential activity. The crisis team held another meeting the following morning and reached decisions aimed at protecting the country and its citizens. Soldiers and policemen were mobilized for this purpose. The protection of important buildings, including foreign missions in our country, was organized. Security has been assured despite the tense situation.

Nevertheless, I think it is possible to make an effort for the state to function better. We are devoting January to improving the work of the state apparatus by implementing organizational and personnel changes.

[Woycicki] The IMF has complained about the relaxation of wage restrictions in Poland, but many people think the economic reform is too harsh. You are in a difficult dilemma, Prime Minister. You have to reconcile IMF requirements with the hopes that society has vested in your government.

[Bielecki] The IMF, an institution that has the habit of issuing, as it were, certificates of financial credibility to individual countries, has not ignored all the things that have been achieved in Poland over the past one and a half years.

A sizable IMF mission has already arrived in Poland, with a desire to work out an adjustment program for Poland. I have held talks with some members of the delegation, as a result of which a Polish adjustment program covering the next three years is to be submitted to the IMF Board in late March or early April. If this program is accepted, that will be a major success for Poland, for the program will provide the basis for more positive actions toward us from our creditors and will prove to foreign investors that the World Bank has faith is us.

Of course we realize that the so-called monetary straitjacket is disturbing society and even kindling protests in the form of threats of strikes because of the wages situation. The greatest challenge to my government is to keep up with society's expectations. Our tasks will include convincing people of the need to restructure the economy rapidly and adapt it to the requirements of a market economy. Nevertheless, I wish to make it clear that even though I belong to the Liberal-Democratic Congress, the Congress thinks that the process of restructuring cannot be implemented without state participation and that some kind of state "interventionism" will be essential in some spheres.

[Woycicki] A considerable part of your government consists of people belonging to the Liberal-Democratic Congress. How does the Congress intend to exploit this success?

[Bielecki] This is not a government of "three political groups and one Warsaw weekly," as some people claim. This is quite simply a government of people whom I have asked to fulfill a mission toward the state, without considering the effect this could have on their careers and ignoring any transitional political motives. After all, what you have just described as a success could be a major defeat for these political groups tomorrow.

Right now it is difficult to say whether the Liberal-Democratic Congress will gain any advantage from this success. But I think that the assumption of high-ranking state posts will broaden the horizons of the members of my group and enable them to look at Polish affairs from a new angle.

[Woycicki] The community of liberals, people who support a market economy, consists of more than just members of the Liberal-Democratic Congress. Do you think it possible to create a broad coalition in support of the reforms that the government intends to implement?

[Bielecki] The Congress is ready to cooperate with other groups. We have expressed our openness on more than one occasion. This is particularly important today when Polish political parties are small. For members of the Congress, however, it is exceedingly important that the coalition and the alliances do not blur our identity and that the liberals do not have to artificially adapt their already very explicit views and programs of action to other groups.

[Woycicki] How do you view possible cooperation with the press, radio, and television, and what should be their role in a democratic state?

[Bielecki] In a democratic state, the government has no possibility of controlling the media. So far the government has had its own paper—RZECZPOSPOLITA. I have spoken to its editor in chief. I explained to him that the government would like it to publish certain materials on, for example, the economic reform. The conclusion of an appropriate agreement is all that is required.

If the Sejm adopts the Television Act, then the government's possibility of controlling that medium will also suddenly disappear (in September I presented a deputies' motion on this subject). The role of the government will be to encourage increasing independence of the media and not just the contents of press items. The government will strive to pursue an open information policy. That is the only way the government will influence the work of the press, radio, and television.

[Woycicki] Who do you consider to be the government's opposition?

[Bielecki] At the first Sejm session, I had the impression that there were many groups in the opposition. Yet the result of the vote on the government's composition suggests that we have no opposition at all in the Sejm. Only the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Union has explicitly said that it is in opposition, but it stressed that this will be a constructive opposition. I have still not encountered any declaration of opposition to the government on the part of those political groups that are not represented in the Sejm. We expect, however, that in the forthcoming election campaign, individual parties will criticize the government's policies and exploit society's dissatisfaction to win votes.

[Woycicki] And what would you recognize as a constructive opposition?

[Bielecki] I take "constructive opposition" to mean the kind of opposition that would point out any distortions in the government's work but would refrain from questioning the path of our changes, i.e. the aim toward democracy and a market economy.

[Woycicki] To what extent can your decisions determine whether or not the future parliamentary majority will be in favor of the reforms?

[Bielecki] We are certainly not going to make decisions geared only to the next few months. I think now is the time for all the groups concerned with transforming the Polish economy into a modern market economy to act together. I think that if individual political parties join in this process in a constructive way, that might give them better chances in the elections.

[Woycicki] "Small-scale privatization" is one of your slogans. Do you think people are sufficiently acquainted with this term, and could its implementation over the next few months cause any tangible differences?

[Bielecki] One reason for the term "small-scale privatization" is to show that the Polish economy may change radically as a result of the activity that has been undertaken. A handbook on how to carry out this "small-scale privatization" is being prepared. It will be an excellent guide for those who would like to learn how to carry out this operation in a voivodship or district. Of course, not everyone understands what "small-scale privatization" involves, that is why the state must present guidelines and help to build a market economy. The extent of the small-scale privatization will depend mainly on how efficiently we can supply this help. Of course, a book of instructions is not everything. It is necessary to establish in various parts of Poland institutions that will explain this principle to people and provide them with concrete help and advice in implementing it.

[Woycicki] The election campaigns of Walesa and Mazowiecki were addressed mainly to large cities and rural areas. Do you not think that some kind of special program will be required for so-called provincial Poland, which voted mainly for Tyminski?

[Bielecki] Not much has changed in these communities. The Polish United Workers Party has been replaced by citizens' committees. The main economic effect noticed by people is higher prices. I think one should penetrate these communities not with political programs but economic ones. Such economic programs should encourage small-scale privatization and implement a regional development whereby the state should pursue an energetic role. For example, in Northern Mazowsze it might indicate areas suitable for particular Polish and foreign investments. That would also create new jobs and a much better social climate. Then people would see that changes really are occurring and that the government's reforms are not just empty words.

[Woycicki] Which social groups will want to back your reforms, and which groups do you think will oppose you?

[Bielecki] I realize that support depends on the effectiveness of the government's work. For example, if we can help the mining industry through concrete institutional remedies instead of radical wage rises, then we might win supporters even among this milieu. I expect that people who understand the purpose of the government's's work and see in it a hope for Poland will support our policies. Such people could belong to all kinds of social and professional groups.

It is difficult to determine who our opponents are. Generally speaking, Polish society is in favor of democracy and a market economy, but there are many people from various milieus who would like to preserve the status quo and even take Poland back to the previous era. People like this might include both managers and rank-and-file employees, as well as a certain part of the administrative apparatus. These people enjoyed the communist "one day at a time" philosophy. They placed immediate advantages, often gained illegally, above the common good. There are also people who do not think the reforms will succeed.

[Woycicki] The government is changing. Do you think you are paying for the fact that you are new?

[Bielecki] I have noticed a certain amount of reserve on the part of the media via-a-vis me and my cabinet. We have to learn quickly. The juncture of events in Poland and the world is certainly no help to this government. Nevertheless, we feel we have a great deal of responsibility for Poland's fortunes, so we do not feel powerless. We feel quite the opposite.

Walesa, Balcerowicz, Bielecki Meet on Policy

AU2501114391 Warsaw PAP in English 1507 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 22—President Lech Walesa met in the Belvedere Palace today with Prime Minister Krzysztof Bielecki and Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz to discuss issues connected with the government's information policy.

After the meeting Premier Bielecki and Vice-Premier Balcerowicz told newsmen that the president and the government were concordant that the information policy should be clear and understandable to every citizen and explain clearly the reasons for the economic solutions and some tough decisions taken by the government.

Asked about the government's attitude to the announced strikes the premier stated that the government's policy aimed to construct a model for negotiations with trade unions, which would allow the sides to discuss all problems beforehand, and not under the pressure of strikes.

The president also received today leaders of the national representation of retired employees who put forward a proposal to affiliate their organization to the presidential office as a body which would co-operate in the drafting of laws pertaining to pensioners. The president welcomed the proposal.

Walesa Receives Solidarity Officials, Others

LD2401233491 Warsaw PAP in English 1814 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 24—President Lech Walesa received at the Belweder Palace here today a delegation of the Council of the Health Service Section of Solidarity headed by Alina Pienkowska.

Also today, President Walesa met with head of the Citizen's Committee Zdzislaw Najder. After the meeting the spokesman of the president said that a meeting between Walesa and the Presidium of the Citizens' Committee was near.

Jan Olszewski also visited the Belweder today to discuss with Walesa the principles of functioning of the president's team of advisors.

President Lech Walesa also held a working meeting with Minister of State for Security and National Defence Jaqcek Merkel. Present was also deputy minister, Secretary of State Jerzy Milewski.

Report on 24 Jan Sejm Session

LD2501050791 Warsaw PAP in English 2336 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 24—The Polish Sejm (Lower House) opened Thursday its two-day session with putting on the agenda a motion on the appointing of a new president of the National Bank of Poland, NBP. Polish President Lech Walesa sent a letter on the matter which will be subject to discussion on Friday.

Following a motion of the parliamentary caucus of the Democratic Left, the Chamber resolved that the Polish foreign minister would brief the Sejm on threats posed by the current developments in the world at the next meeting of the chamber, to be held Feb.7-9.

During a debate on co-operatives should be economic activity aimed to heed the needs of their members. They also referred to numerous cases of the appropriation of co-operatives' property by individual groups.

The Sejm rejected amendments proposed by the Senate concerning the law on the ratification of the child's rights convention. So far, the convention has been signed by 133 states.

The chamber adopted a law on the state maritime hydrographic service and navigation signs (see a separate item).

Some 5,000 people were killed in car accidents in Poland last year. Governmental draft amendments to the law on road traffic, now examined by the Sejm, introduces obligatory driving with seat-belts fastened, also in towns.

The Sejm corrected a mistake made by the Senate which could lead to depriving the war veterans of their privileges. The Chamber, however, adopted some amendments forwarded by the Senate, such as covering with war veterans' rights those who fought against UPA Ukrainian nationalist troops, but not those who helped hide Jews during the Nazi occupation.

Kolodziejczyk: New Structure for Defense Ministry

LD2401233591 Warsaw PAP in English 2302 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 24—Polish Minister of Defence Piotr Kolodziejczyk said today that a special team assigned to work out a new structure of the Defence Ministry decided in favour of a civilian model of the ministry.

In tune with the proposed model, the defence minister, like his deputies, would be civilians, while the lower structure would be military and headed by the chief inspector of the Armed Forces with the task to coordinate activities of ministry's central institutions.

The proposed model is still subject to further discussion and modifications, said Kolodziejczyk.

National Security Council Concept Outlined

LD2401211791 Warsaw PAP in English 1931 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 24—"From the formal and legal point of view, the concept of the national security council is comprised within the provisions given by the constitution to the Committee of National Defence (KOK)," Minister of State for National Security in the President's Chancellery Jacek Merkel told officers of the Polish Army here today.

The council would replace the committee which does not cover all the aspects of national security such as terrorism or dangerous allignment of forces around Poland.

The function of the council's chairman would be vested in Poland's president while the prime minister would be his first deputy chairman whereas the ministers of foreign affairs and of national defence - deputy chairmen. Under the current concept the council's secretary would be the minister of state for national security. The minister of internal affairs, the minister of finance, the head of President's Chancellery and the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers would be the council's members.

The main task of the council would be to define the state policy on matters pertaining to national security.

Solidarity Official Discusses Union's Congress

AU2401172191 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Jan 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Wojciech Arkuszewski, member of the Presidium of the Solidarity National Commission, by Daniela Sielska; place and date not given: "Divorce From Politics"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Sielska] The extraordinary Solidarity congress is approaching. What is on the agenda, apart from the election of a new chairman of Solidarity?

[Arkuszewski] There are four very important matters to be discussed. First, the question of Solidarity's participation in the parliamentary elections has to be considered. Most of the National Commission thinks Solidarity's participation should be limited. The union should withdraw from politics only partially. Why not fully? Because with the Sejm's present fast work pace, it is impossible to hold broad consultations with people outside parliament. And yet the Sejm is due to consider pieces of legislation important for working people, such as a labor code and social policy and legislation. Therefore, we want to have a number of Solidarity deputies, between 30 and 50, who would help shape this legislation. But this would not compel us to become part of the power structure. In fact, we would even consider our Sejm presence temporary, until such time as the complete formation of the political structures is achieved, which we as a union wish to make way for.

The second issue to be discussed by the congress is the inclusion of chairmen of Solidarity branch industrial secretariats in the National Commission. That would increase the role of the union's branch industrial cells and tighten their links with the union authorities.

The third issue is to work out a consensus on social policy and the tasks ahead of us concerning, for example, unemployment, pensions, and help for workers to adjust to new standards. Society is unhappy not just because the standard of living has fallen, but also because it does not understand what is happening around it.

The fourth issue that the union is bound to discuss is an increase in the amount of money payable by factory committees to the regional chapters and National Commission until the union's financial situation becomes stable. One reason for its instability is that the union is setting up brand-new premises and therefore has additional expenses. Unfortunately, our members have become poorer and cannot help us sufficiently.

'Liquidation' of RSW Press Titles Continues

AU2401122691 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[Report by Dr. Andrzej Notkowski, press spokeman and adviser to the chairman of the RSW Liquidation Commission: "The Liquidation of the RSW Is Continuing"]

[Text] The Liquidation Commission of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" RSW [Workers Publishing Cooperative] conducted further sales of press titles on 17 and 18 January. It reached decisions concerning six titles that were publicly offered for sale one week ago.

The commission decided to sell GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, the largest daily of Malopolska, for 2.5 billion zlotys [Z] to a publishing company consisting of members of the staff and local intellectuals and writers from the Polish Writers Association, backed by the Trade and Credits Bank Ltd. in Katowice, the Voivodship Office of Krakow, and a group of private entrepreneurs. The Commission rejected a Z500 million offer from the City of Krakow, backed by the Krakow branch of the Center Accord; a Z400 million offer from the Krakow Industrial Society; and a Z4 billion offer, the highest one, from the "Irsa" publishing house in Vienna. The Commission's decision in this case was guided by the intention, expressed in the 29 November 1990 Council of Ministers resolution on the management of RSW assets and in the 20 December 1990 memorandum by the Sejm Commission for Culture and Mass Media, to protect the Polish press from domination by foreign capital.

As the new owner of the popular weekly PILKA NOZNA [FOOTBALL], the commission chose the private firm "Agroland" from Samopolno, which deals with agricultural machinery and international freight shipments. "Agroland" had offered Z250 million for it. It is backed by the paper's staff and the chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, and intends to set up 20,000 distribution points for this particular title all over Poland. These are the factors that made the commission give the title to "Agroland," even though the Polish Football Association had offered Z700 million. The "Futbol-Press" journalists cooperative had offered Z50 million.

The commission will decide who will buy the youth weekly RAZEM [TOGETHER] shortly after 25 January. Competing for this title are a cooperative of this weekly's journalists, and the Confederation for an Independent Poland. The would-be purchasers are to present their exact financial propositions by this date.

The rights to three monthlies that had been discontinued due to financial difficulties were sold. BRYDZ [BRIDGE] was sold for Z4 million to a publishing company consisting of that paper's staff, backed by the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland [PPSd]. LEKKOATLETYKA [LIGHT ATHLETICS] was sold to the "Start" Paraplegic Sports Club for Z500,000; and HARCERSTWO [SCOUTING] was sold to the Headquarters of the Polish Scouts Association for Z100,000. These were the only offers in both cases.

The Liquidation Commission put another eight titles on sale to the public. Individual persons placed bids for three of these, which will make it easier to reach a final decision. The Bydgoszcz DZIENNIK WIECZORNY [EVENING NEWS] was sold for Z300 million to the local "Poltech" Trade and Service Enterprise Ltd., backed by that paper's staff. This company had been leasing the paper since August 1990 and invested about Z900 million in it. The Lodz sociocultural weekly ODGLOSY [ECHOES] was sold to a cooperative of that paper's employees for Z1 million. ODGLOSY had previously been suspended due to financial difficulties, but the employees cooperative had revived it with its own money and restored its publication as a monthly. Another suspended title, GAZETA CZESTOCHOWSKA, was sold for Z7 million to the Economic Society of Czestochowa with the backing of that paper's staff, "Solidarity," the Voivodship Federation of Citizens Committees, and the Czestochowa City Council.

The "Belfra" company, acting on behalf of the PPSd leadership, would like to buy TRYBUNA and the weeklies CHLOPSKA DROGA [PEASANT ROAD] and ZYCIE ZYRARDOWA [ZYRARDOW LIFE] for a total Z1.25 billion. On the basis of an agreement with the RSW Liquidation Commission, "Befra" has been publishing all these titles, formerly part of the TRYBUNA LUDU publishing house, at its own expense and responsibility. The city council of Zyrardow has also offered to buy ZYCIE ZYRARDOWA for Z350 million, with the backing of the local "Solidarity" branch. However, "Befra" and the Trade Union Federation of RSW Employees insist that all three titles make up one indivisible enterprise. Sharp political polemics accompanied the offers to buy WIADOMOSCI

SKIERNIEWICKIE [SKIERNIEWICE NEWS], the contestants being the Skierniewice Voivodship PPSd Committee, offering Z80 million, and the Skierniewice City Council, which has so far spent Z15 million of its own money to print this paper but has not said how much its wants to pay for it. A third competitor, Ziemowit Janowski, who is setting up a local television station, has offered Z100 million. As many as nine offers were made for the popular Katowice WIECZOR [EVENING], the highest being Z1.5 billion offered by the "Akapit" company which has been set up by the paper's staff with the backing of the Katowice Commercial and Credit bank. The Warsaw "Epoka" publishing house, connected with the Democratic Party, has also offered to buy this paper for Z500 million. The remaining offers, ranging from Z600 million to Z1.2 billion, come from private firms, mainly dealing in radio and television, in Katowice, Bielsko-Biala, and Sosnowiec. Final decisions on who will have these papers will be made soon after 25 January, after the Commission has received additional information from the hopeful buyers.

In addition, the Liquidation Commission has decided to consider a Z1 million offer from the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth for WALKA MLODYCH [YOUNG PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE] and a Z1 million offer from a group of doctors at the Lodz Medical Academy to buy NOWA MEDYCYNA [NEW MEDICINE]. Although these bids were placed slightly past the official deadline, they have permitted the sale of successive bankrupt RSW newspapers.

So far, the commission has sold off 13 titles, mainly to private enterprises and social organizations, which conforms to the intentions expressed in the RSW Liquidation Act. Decisions on another five titles are pending. No offers have been made for 17 titles within the required time limit. That means that they will be taken over by the state treasury. Some 21 titles, with all the essential fixed assets, have been handed to employees' cooperatives free of charge.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Gulf Situation

AU2401212091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1954 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—The Romanian Government is particularly appreciative of Israel's restraint in giving full swing to military provocations and in letting itself involved in the conflict, stated at the weekly news conference the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu who also specified: It is obvious that the escalation of military operations can worsen the situation in the Gulf making the chances for a settlement of the crisis shallower. Our government, the Romanian Foreign Ministry is in permanent touch with the main sides in the conflict and with other states which can help find a peaceful solution.

Romania also tries to contribute, according to its possibilities, to a peaceful solution, to the cessation of hostilities and the inception of negotiations. We think it is not the due time for the Security Council to hold a meeting and the less so for the General Assembly to call a special emergency session.

[The] UN's stance on the matter is very clear just as the Security Council's is through its Resolution 687 and the follow-up official meetings. In our opinion as well as in other states', to see a stop in hostilities and on embarkment on the path of a peaceful settlement in the area, a very clear declaration is needed which should be followed by Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. In Romania's opinion, any initiative for a peaceful settlement of the conflict is not too late even after the beginning of hostilities. We are in fact in an incipient stage of hostilities.

I should like to signal, as a major stance taken by our government, the interview Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase granted to the daily "TINERETUL LIBER," of which I would like to mention the following: the clear-cut position on backing the multinational force as it is an action of the international community to re-establish legality worldwide; Romanian Government's compassion with the casualties among the civilians in the Iraqi territory and the material damage there; the inadmissibility of the procedures Iraqis apply to war prisoners using them as human shields, which would be a serious violation of the Geneva convention on the protection of war prisoners.

In connection with the situation in the Gulf, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that on January 21 a substantial number of Romanians, most of which settled abroad, mainly in Jordan, had arrived in the country. The diplomatic corps was withdrawn from Iraq. In Amman and Tel Aviv there is a minimal number of diplomatic personnel, while in Damascus and Beirut the wives and children of the Romanian embassy's personnel were evacuated.

Referring to the compensation for the losses Romania has suffered from the Gulf War, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu stated: The decisions of the Committee 661, sponsored by the Security Council, demand all the UN member states and its specialized agencies, the international financial institutions to assist the countries which encounter economic difficulties following their observance of the embargo imposed on Iraq. Through its foreign minister, Romania took several steps to apply such a decision. The Romanian foreign minister sent letters last week to his counterparts in the U.S.A., Canada and Japan as well as to the heads of the UN specialized agencies like the IMF, the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], the Group of 24 to support Romania. In his letters, the Romanian foreign minister underscores that the real damage has been estimated so far at 3.2 billion dollars, which should also be seen against the background of the economic and social difficulties specific to the transitional period Romania is traversing: from a centralized planned economy to a market economy.

The letters also request assistance to Romania in meeting economic and financial requirements, specifying that it understands it in extenso, including renunciation of the reserves some states still show to the Romanian requests in various international fora. We may say that the international solidarity that was manifest in giving sanctions is also apparent in assisting the states which have been most affected by the Gulf crisis.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman also mentioned at the press conference that Romania had received positive answers so far from the Common Market, the U.S.A., France, Italy, Spain and Germany.

Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, Foreign Ministry spokesman, while referring to issues of interest for Romania that have been included in this year's agenda of the Geneva Disarmament Commission, such as the conclusion of a final version of the convention on the banning and scrapping of chemical weapons, said:

"The Romanian UN delegation has been empowered to bring its share to finding solutions to the questions of controlling and verifying the compliance with the convention, so as to succeed in destroying chemical weapons as soon as possible, the Romanian Government maintains the necessity of having the chemical weapons destroyed within the next 6 to 8 years in a proportion of 98 per cent and of calling a conference of all states signatory to the future convention for deciding together on the measures to be taken for the destruction of the weapons still extant at the time. As for the control over the observance of the convention, Romania considers that it should be carried out efficiently, allowing for check-ups upon request, apt to prevent violations of the convention.

Head of Joint Association Hails Israel

AU2401095491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0915 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Unattributed report: "Interviews-Statements: Romanian Personalities Applaud Israel"]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—"There is no country on earth now to be more worthy of our esteem, a country savagely attacked by the obscure forces of the evil and that, however, for mankind's peace, proving perfect wisdom, does not fight back" said Razvan Theodorescu, chairman of the Romania-Israel Friendship Cultural Association, in opening a get-together with the Romanian parliamentary delegation that had visited Israel earlier this month.

The attendance included senators and deputies who surveyed the main events of the visit paid to Israel, as well as its results assessed as more than satisfactory. As shown in the parliamentarians' addresses, the Israeli investments will be felt in Romania in the beginning in tourism, commerce, agriculture and consumer goods industry.

Zwi Mazel, Israeli ambassador in Bucharest, other members of the Embassy and a large public were present.

Prime Minister Roman Pays Visit to Turkey

Statement Prior to Departure

AU2401141391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1321 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/01/1991—Thursday morning Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman left for Turkey for an official visit at the invitation of his counterpart Yildirim Akbulut.

The Romanian prime minister is accompanied by Teodor Stolojan, minister of finances, Dan Pescariu, president of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, Osman Negeat, mufti of the Moslem cult in Romania, by parliamentarians and experts.

Before leaving Bucharest for Ankara, the prime minister made the following statement to the press: "Turkey has traversed a powerful stage. Many good and useful links have been established with Turkey since our revolution. Both Romania and Turkey are directly interested in a good collaboration in the Balkans and, generally, in the Black Sea region. Romania, with its Black Sea border, is we are convinced a mainstay of the pan-European collaboration.

This is why my visit to Turkey aims at important bilateral targets, therefore at what we can accomplish together. Turkey has already proved, through its entire policy with Romania, that it wishes to be present on the Romanian market and in the Romanian economy as well as on the diplomatic level. Our country has benefited both from material support and from important information on the economic reform. We should not forget that five or six years ago Turkey traversed a period similar with our present stage of which it came out with a strong market economy and well engaged in the European community.

In the context of the Gulf crisis our link with Turkey is important to have a correct image taken right from its source, if I may put it so, of the way in which Turkey is involved in the Gulf conflict and to discuss the means of a rapid settlement which, to a certain extent, could be still called peaceful."

Departs for Turkey

AU2401091091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0744 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/01/1991—Thursday morning Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman left Bucharest for Turkey for an official visit at the invitation of his counterpart Yildirim Akbulut.

Meets Officials, Holds News Conference

AU2501150291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2218 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—At a press conference Prime Minister Petre Roman expressed his conviction that the relations between the two countries had a new basis and would see a new development. There are questions of equal concern to us over the tension in the world arena. During the talks we shall approach questions conducive to growing bilateral ties, and we shall have consultations on international politics and diplomacy, stated Mr. Petre Roman.

In his turn, [Turkish] Prime Minster Yildirim Akbulut voiced his belief that the visit would help boost Romanian-Turkish relations.

We fully support the 1989 revolution in Romania, which we think will benefit your country, the Romanian people, the Romanian democracy, Romania's development and the expansion of ties between Turkey and Romania, stated Mr. Yildirim Akbulut. He also expressed his satisfaction at the fact that the Turkish minority in Romania enjoyed full rights and liberties, assessing that that would further provide for a solid basis for the growth of bilateral links.

Prime Minister Petre Roman received Turkish Foreign Minister Kurtcebe Alptemocin at his official residence. The talk on the occasion concentrated on questions of mutual interest.

Further on Visit

WA2401143791

For reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Roman to Turkey, including reports on his talks with Turkish Prime Minister Akbulut and Turkish Foreign Minister

Alptemocin, please see the Turkey section of the 24 January West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Moldovan Foreign Minister on Bilateral Ties

AU2401211791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1927 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—Referring to the mutual efforts to develop the relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, particularly at the humanitarian level, Nicolae Tiu, the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Moldova, said in an interview with ROMPRES special correspondents.

"To help you form an idea, I mention that last year, only by the instrumentality of our ministry, about 80,000 people crossed the frontier with Romania as against 2,000-3,000 a year in the preceding period. Of course, the figure includes the tourists travelling to Yugoslavia, Turkey, and some other countries. On the other hand, the figures do not refer to visits to relatives, that are dealt with by the Ministry of the Interior. As far as our ministry is concerned, I can say that all requests were given favourable answers. The formalities necessary to the almost 3,000 schoolchildren and students from the Republic of Moldova who went to study in Romania fell also in our competence. To facilitate the intense traffic of people across the two banks of the Prut, we have decided together with the Romanian party and Moscow backs us in this respect to open another six border stations, at Giurgiulesti, Cahul, Stoianovca, Sculeni, Costesti-Stinca and Lipcani, where, by the way, the bridge over the Prut will be repaired, that was damaged during World War Two. These border stations will be simple and functional and will not ask for high expenses.

As for the Baltic countries, the minister added, the staging has become classical: a duality of power is suggested, and the second is said to ask for help... To my mind, the main thing in this case is to find out the culprits, (that is to clearify who allowed the military to use the arms) and to send them to court. It is only after that that measures can be taken to ease the conflicts. I also think, we, the republics that proclaimed our sovereignty are not angels, ourselves. In fact it is very difficult to ask a people fighting for its sovereignty to contain its emotions altogether and be always tactful...

On the other hand, the only real solution is tolerance and compromise, the latter, of course, not when principles are at stake.

Resource Ministry Group Holds Talks in USSR

AU2201172691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1242 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/01/1991—A delegation of the Ministry of Resources and Industry led by Secretary of State Dumitru Popescu and including experts of other ministries and departments as well had contacts over 7-18 January with executives of Soviet economic ministries and specialized organizations. Talks focused on speeding up negotiations for mutual deliveries both under the governmental agreement and beyond it through direct contracts between economic agents. Soviet supplier pledged to do everything possible not to diminish daily deliveries of natural gas to Romania below 14 million cubic meter until trade negotiations are finalized. During talks with the natural gas producer, gas central department of Tiumen respectively, other possibilities were identified of delivering natural gas to Romania. As for the outstanding debts of 1990, the delegation managed to reschedule it the details having to be finalized in the first half of February 1991.

As for goods exchanges stress was laid on the direct relationship between economic agents, with governmental bodies playing a catalyzing role.

PNT-cd Delegation Meets Greek Officials

AU2201210491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2004 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/1/1991—A delegation of the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party of Romania [PNT-cd] paid a visit to Greece, over January 15-20, 1991, as guests of Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis, chairman of the New Democracy Party.

The delegation, headed by Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the party, had talks with the leadership of the New Democracy Party on matters of organization.

Also, they had interviews with the minister of commerce, the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as with Greek experts on privatization matters.

On January 17, Chairman Corneliu Coposu was received by Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis. They referred to matters of consolidation of democracy in Romania and of collaboration in the Christian-democratic international.

PNT-cd President Comments on Visit

AU2401141691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1222 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/01/1991—Back home after a visit to Greece at the head of a National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] delegation, that party's president Corneliu Coposu assessed in an interview to a ROMPRES editor that his meeting with Mr. Mitsotakis, who promised him moral support to his party, was productive.

I think, he said, that the visit was useful and satisfying and that it served the country's interests, and of course the interests of our party.

Mr. Coposu said that Mr. Constantine Mitsotakis refused to pay a visit to Romania, an attitude the Greek premier motivated through the "reticence of the Romanian political leadership to observe human rights, public liberties and a true democracy."

Roman Meets IMF Delegation; Cooperation Viewed

AU2301220291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2118 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1991—After previous talks on a government level, a delegation of the International Monetary Fund, led by Mr. Mohsin Khan, who have been in Romania for several days to conclude a cooperation programme between that international organism and Romania, were received by Mr. Petre Roman on Wednesday morning.

After the interview, Mr. Mohsin Khan told a "ROMPRES" editor that after he had discussed the cooperation programme with the governor of Romania's National Bank he had informed the Romanian prime minister of the stage of underway negotiations and had found out his opinion. He said his visit was part of those negotiations which proceed in auspicious conditions. As negotiations were still in progress he said he had nothing else to add only that he hoped they would go on smoothly.

In his turn, the governor of the National Bank of Romania, Mr. Mugur Isarescu, who attended the interview, said: We are at the end of a road which has been longer and rougher than we thought in the beginning. However, we hope the negotiations with the International Monetary Fund will end in a day or two. We actually negotiate a programme for reform, adaptation and stability of the Romanian economy, elements which we see as interconnected.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With UNDP

AU2301205491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1815 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1991—On January 23, the Romanian Foreign Minister, Mr. Adrian Nastase, and the resident representative of the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], Mr. Ottorino Jannone, signed a standard cooperation agreement between the Romanian Government and the UNDP. The accord provides for modalities of granting and using assistance through the agency of the UNDP. Romania takes part in UNDP activities both as an end-user and as a contributor. Along the years Romania has enjoyed UNDP assistance worth more than 30 million dollars, mostly for industry, agriculture, and natural resources.

As part of the technical-assistance projects financed by the UNDP, actions were carried through in 1990 which amounted to a total 1.4 million dollars, representing the worth of equipment, scholarships and services performed by foreign experts and consultants in various areas.

At the same time, two new projects were signed worth roughly 1.5 million dollars which are intended to support the achievement of the government's economic reform and the transition to a market economy.

Over 1992-1996 Romania is to benefit from UNDP assistance funds totalling roughly four million dollars.

Romania is a member of the UNDP administration board for a three-year term (1989-1991).

In his address after the signing of documents the Romanian foreign minister showed that to be a historic moment in the productive cooperation between Romania and the UNDP and expressed his belief that the revolutionary changes in Romania created the best conditions for the strengthening and diversification of that cooperation.

In his turn, the UNDP representative in Bucharest considered the signing of the document as one more step forward on the road to Romania's openness to the world. We were at the side of the Romanian people yesterday, we are at its side today, more than ever before, and we will be at its side in the future, he said.

PNT-cd's Ratiu Comments on Status of Opposition

AU2301210191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1991—I came back to Romania to stay not for personal interests but to serve the national cause, said Mr. Ion Ratiu, deputy for the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd] in the country's Parliament, in an interview granted to the independent weekly "BARICADA" upon his return from abroad.

Referring to the status of the parliamentary opposition, Mr. Ratiu opined tnat the opposition had not manage to crystallize and order its forces so that it might become a viable alternative in case of a non-confidence vote given to the government.

As for my ideas on democracy, he said, they rely, first of all, on the viewpoint of the opponent, on the right of the other one to attack me in the good sense of the word. I believe, Mr. Ion Ratiu added, that the young people wish a true democracy, characterized by respect for each individual, and that is why I think the role of the youth at present is to learn the technique of democracy rather than be contented with the aspiration after democracy.

In connection with the emergence of the Socialist Party of Labour, Mr. Ion Ratiu said that in a true democracy all parties, without exception, have the right to express their opinions and that were the Romanian people to accept the communist absurdity after 45 years that would be a sad situation indeed.

Writer Condemns Hungarian Book on Romania

AU2401095891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2217 GMT 23 Jan 91

["Gas Over the Fire of Revisionist Hysteria"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/1/1991—The weekly "ADEVARUL LITERAR SI ARTISTIC" publishes a discussion with Professor Raoul Sorban on the book "Hystria's State of Emergency. A Disagreeable Textbook on Romania" by Pal Bodor, recently put out in Budapest. The author was born in Budapest, lived in Romania until 1983, when he went back to Budapest. In 1965 he was head of the Minorities' Department of the State Publishing House for Literature and Art, after which he was editor with 'Kriterion' Publishing House. Over 1970-1979 Pal Bodor was editor with the Romanian Television. In 1981 he was elected on the managerial board of the Writers' Union and of Bucharest Writers' Association.

Professor Raoul Sorban is of the opinion that Pal Bodor's recently published book is "part of that noisy printed bombardment that, one way or another, maintains the historical injustice Hungary would have been subject to following the Treaty of Trianon." Although, as signatory to the Helsinki Final Act Hungary pledged to recognize the frontiers established after World War two—Raoul Sorban adds—Hungary and its emigrants speak of the 'injustice' the treaty has done and consequently attacks have been launched, only in press for the time being, intended to persuade that the frontiers established then cannot remain as such. "Virtually, Pal Bodor's book serves such an idea.

"Under the pretext of being objective and sincere, the author of the book recently published in Budapest tells lies, incites to nationalism, revisionism, denigration" says Professor Sorban. Starting from Pal Bodor's assertion that the Hungarians living in Transylvania are subject to a process of forced Romanization, Raoul Sorban adds: "there are thousands of kindergartens and schools, theaters, newspapers and magazines, the freedom of denominations is a fact, numerous books are issued in Hungarian, there are broadcasts on the Romanian Radio and Television in Hungarian, there are theaters and opera houses performing in Hungarian". When Romania's Parliament counts 40 senators and deputies representing the Hungarian minority (while in Hungary's Parliament there is no Romanian deputy), when everybody can work and travel wherever he chooses, without any national discrimination, how can anyone speak of the Romanization of the Hungarians living in Transylvania, wonders Professor Sorban, while signalling that the book signed by Pal Bodor says nothing about the policy of Magyarization of the Romanians living in Hungary.

Referring to the national clashes that took place at Tirgu Mures in March 1990, Pal Bodor interprets and speaks of them at his will, in order to reach his final conclusion, that this was nothing but a 'pogrom' staged by Romanians against Hungarians. Professor Raoul Sorban points out that Pal Bodor is of the opinion that certain groups and organizations in Romania contributed to create a state of nationalistic terror against Hungarians. "Of course—concludes Professor Sorban—the next step would be to incite to taking the arms to 'liberate' Transylvania.

Iliescu Attends Union Anniversary Celebration

AU2401131391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1110 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/01/1991—While in the town of Focsani, where he was attending an important manifestation dedicated to the anniversary of 132 years since the Romanian principalities' union, President Ion Iliescu had a first meeting with members of the board of directors as well as with workers and specialists of the Focsani textile enterprise.

Speaks to Crowd of 15,000

AU2501145891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1924 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/1/1991—The Romanian people celebrated Thursday the January 24, 1859 union of the Romanian principalities Wallachia and Moldavia.

The event was marked across the country. At Focsani, a town on the Milcov which separated the two Romanian principalities and where the first reunified institutions of the united principalities functioned, the union under ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza was celebrated in the presence of Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

The president addressed a crowd of 15,000 gathered in Focsani's Union Square. The attendance included guests from Iasi, Buzau and Harghita counties as well as a group of pupils from Kishinev. I wanted to mark January 24 in Focsani, said Romania's president who also mentioned that January 24 was a decisive moment in the assertion of the national being.

The same day the Romanian head of state had open, informal interviews with workers and experts of two industrial units in the locality the garments enterprise and the tools and hydraulic elements manufacturing enterprise, with whom he approached questions related to the production and social activities in 1991, and to the application of the economic reform.

PNL Executive Secretary Mailat Resigns

AU2401131691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1208 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/01/1991—Mr. Eugen Mailat, executive secretary of the National Liberal Party [PNL], has recently announced his resignation from that political group.

In an interview with daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" He says his decision was caused by the lack of firmness and the position of the Liberal Party Leadership, of Mr. Radu Campeanu to be precise, on present-day developments in our country. Mr. Eugen Mailat holds it against the Liberal Party's number one that he did not clearly define his attitude about and did not adhere to the principles of the Antitotalitarian Forum of Cluj and the Civic Alliance. He further reproaches the Liberal Party president his statement, in his interview with BBC, that he did not know whether ex-King Michael was or not a Romanian citizen. In Mr. Mailat's opinion, Mr. Radu Campeanu "is more concerned about maintaining his own position", also considering that he "has no longer the force required to lead the fight against such a perfidious and wicked enemy as communism is, under National Salvation Front cover."

Mr. Mailat also opines that the National Liberal Party leader "is drawing away from a unity of opposition forces, by ridiculing and trying to minimize the activity of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and the Civic Alliance."

The former Liberal Party secretary points out there is "serious unrest" among that political group. His own resignation, the speaker says, is not meant to produce any scission within the National Liberal Party, but he adds that "the seism which will shake the party is imminent".

Reorganization Conducted at Resource Ministry

AU2301160491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1116 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/1/1991—On January 15, 1991, the Department for Electric and Thermal Power of the Ministry of Resources and Industry will cease to function reads a government resolution.

Its heritage, activities and attributes will be taken over by the "Renel" autonomous enterprise for electricity, or by a specialised division in the Ministry of Resources and Industry, as the case may be, while the staff will be taken over by Renel, by the commercial companies set up after the reorganisation of the department's units and by the Ministry of Resources and Industry.

Government Resolution on Reform Council's Tasks

AU2101130091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1208 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/1/1991—A government resolution decided that the Council for Reform, Public Relations and Information discuss, analyze and clarify the controversial practical problems in the implementation of legal regulations or those of the governmental programme for the economic reform.

The new resolution stipulates that, according to the nature of the problems, the debates will be attended by members of the government, their deputies or other representatives of the ministries and organisms concerned. Starting from the results of the debates, the Council for Reform, Public Relations and Information will be able to initiate a bill or a draft resolution or, where necessary, will elaborate circular letters on the application of the law which will be obligatory for all employees of the state administration.

Iliescu Receives New Mufti at Cotroceni Palace

AU2401095591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2232 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/1/1991—A ceremony took place on January 23 in the afternoon at the Cotroceni Palace, where Romania's President Ion Iliescu handed over to Imam Osman Negeat the presidential decree recognizing him in the office of mufti, chief of the Moslem cult of Romania.

Mufti Osman Negeat presented President Ion Iliescu with a copy of the Koran. Also, the chief of the Moslem cult of Romania expressed in behalf of his faithfuls loyalty to the unitary national Romanian state. Referring to the conflict situation in the Gulf, the mufti said: "May good, Almighty Allah bring light, give all heads of state and government much wisdom, so as to end this war which nobody wants".

In the same framework, the chairman of the Moslem community expressed the hope that the traditional economic, cultural and political links between Turkey and Romania would develop and diversify.

State Minister on Economic Reform Progress

AU2201172591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1642 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/1/1991—As to 1990 priorities there are no essential changes in Romania's economy, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, Romanian minister of state in charge of the economic reform, said in an interview. The priority areas are agriculture, which will be undergoing what we call "great privatization" this year, investment in land improvement, completion of investment projects opened in the energy area and those intended for the economic infrastructure, and a whole range of sectors in social welfare and education. These are the areas towards which most of the funds will be channeled through budget allocations in 1991. However, it should be noted that these priority areas cannot be supported by the budget exclusively as the funds needed to continue underway investment projects amounts to 95 billion lei and the budget can only finance three billion. The rest comes from amortization funds and banking credits.

As for credits from abroad, the situation is even more difficult; we have a line of credits for investment worth 700 million dollars for the obtainment of which the foreign bank no longer wants an amateur reliability project. It is because such amateurism that we could not use many of the credit lines opened in the first half of last year.

Last year, investment in agriculture stood at 500 million dollars. According to estimations, our agriculture further needs roughly 600 million dollars annually, in the form of imports, for a period of two or three years. An equivalent amount of money was allotted to agriculture through the balance of payment for the ongoing year.

The economic orientation in this period should supply answers to two fundamental issues: on the one hand, it should provide for a change in the form of property, therefore, for the passage to the private sector of former state enterprises and on the other hand, it should not allow enterprises undergoing a process of transition to die.

In conclusion, Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu said that the elaboration of the law of privatization had entered an advanced stage and could be submitted to Parliament shortly.

Law on Unemployment Social Protection Adopted

AU2201164491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1045 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/01/1991—The law of social protection of the unemployed and their professional reintegration, recently adopted by Romania's Parliament, stipulates that the unemployment allowance will be calculated differentiatedly by categories of persons and length of service. Taken in consideration is the lowest salary in the economy, indexed, or the last monthly tariff remuneration as follows: 60 per cent of the lowest pay in the economy for the unemployed graduated from pre-university, vocational or apprenticeship institutions, aged above 18 years and for people with under one-year length of service; 70 per cent of the lowest wage in the economy for unemployed who graduated from higher learning institutions; 50 per cent of the last tariff pay for unemployed with a length of service ranging between one and five years but not less than 75 per cent of the lowest pay in the economy; 55 per cent for those with a length of service ranging between five and 15 years but not less than 80 per cent of the lowest wage in the economy; 60 per cent of the monthly tariff salary for those with a length of service of 15 years and more but not less than 85 per cent of the lowest wage in the economy. The following are not benefiting from unemployment allowance: owners of at least 10,000 square meter of arable land in hilly and plain regions and of at least 20,000 square meter in mountain areas; people with their own income sources; people assigned a job corresponding to their training, personal situation and health condition; people meeting conditions for retirement for length of service; members and former members of producer cooperative farms. Unemployment allowance is paid 180 days at the most.

Temporary Customs Regulations on Food, Fuel

AU1801160191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1207 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/01/1991—The Romanian Government decided to ban the pull-out of foodstuffs and other consumer goods from the country over January 20-April 30, 1991, but for the travelers' personal effects and medicines.

In the aforementioned period the citizens settled in Romania can use 40-liters of fuel per month at a maximum for their visits abroad.

Any economic agent can organize trips abroad by public transport means, irrespective of its form of property, authorized to carry on such an activity, the government's decisions shows.

Markovic Comments on Resolving Current Problems

LD2401201191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Report on interview with Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic by Sarajevo Television Editor Mladen Pavlovic; place and date not given]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—We, as a society, have been in crisis for many years, and it has become evident that the way out of this crisis is not possible through adjustments, but only by complete change in the system. The Federal Executive Council [FEC], working on this task for 22 months, has very systematically, consistently, and professionally tackled all the preparatory and operational work and tasks, which should ensure that the process of abandoning one system and forming another does not take place in a haphazard and anarchic way; and that the institutions, infrastructure, mechanisms, and everything connected with the one system are not eroded unsystematically, but rather that they are replaced with everything necessary in the new system. This was stressed by FEC President Ante Markovic in an interview to be shown by Yugoslav television stations this evening. The interview was conducted by Sarajevo Television editor Mladen Paunovic.

It is necessary in fact, to provide what I would describe as a rational and effective structure for these changes in a process that will enable them to take place at a minimal economic, social, and political cost, regardless of the fact that it is not possible to transfer from one system to another without any cost, particularly social and economic.

Markovic stressed: We have been conducting and carrying out the transition from one system to another systematically and consistently, while implementing the reforms in our country, reforms based on changing the structure of ownership by way of establishing a market, including all market factors, changing the state's role, promoting decentralization and forming modern macroeconomic policies all the way up to the formation of a new legal system. This ought to have guaranteed the citizens freedom and secured certain sovereign rights at the same time as changes were made to the political system through multiparty elections. All this was yielding great results until the second half of last year; I even dare to say that, in particular, the social and economic cost of these reformist changes was relatively modest.

Since that time, especially since last autumn, there have been violations in the reform's various elements. First of all, there were violations in the macroeconomic policies as public spending increased immensely. Wages also shot beyond realistic limits. This was followed by an intrusion into the financial system of payments. Mutual obligations remain unsettled—not only toward the federation but also between individual participants in the system of payments—because these monies, too, are redirected so that eventually one breaks into the monetary system and entitles oneself to the right to print money on one's own.

Of course, all that is happening now has not only endangered the country's legal system and blocked the levers of what is represented by the federal state, but has also halted the progress of the reform as it threatens to pull us back to the very beginning, the FEC president warned.

This is precisely why we would like to halth the continuation of this process, to win some time, during which new parliamentary systems should be established on the basis of elections carried out in the republics. Of course, we advocate elections at the federal-state level to borrow time and enable the republics to negotiate the future of the whole country together. This erosion, which is threatening to evolve into extreme anarchy, chaos, and a collapse of the country, must be checked because it is only logical that it will result in the sort of disintegration that invites undemocratic means and methods that have never been advocated or desired by the FEC nor will be favored at all by anyone, Markovic said.

To resolve the situation in a democratic and peaceful manner in the interest of all nations and nationalities, to allow all interests to be expressed, and to hold talks about the country's future, we were of the opinion that it was necessary to ensure 11 basic and three systemic solutions. Among the systemic solutions are adopting constitutional amendments, holding elections, ensuring functioning of the institutions of the existing federation, as well as ensuring the free flow of information throughout the country. We held the view that it is impossible to hold talks unless all parts of the country are informed about them, and not just about views of their republican leadership, but about views held by others. It is very difficult to strike the right balance if citizens are not in a position to be informed from the source—and correctly—about who advocates what, Markovic stressed.

Conclusions were made about consultations with all governments and executive councils and with the majority of republican leaderships, held between 15 and 21 January. The majority of participants—who, at our demand, submitted their stands in writing—supported the FEC proposal about a minimum functioning of the federation, including the currency and its convertibility, monetary policy—which should prop up the convertability—and market and property restructuring.

Apart from the objections of some republics that these do not constitute a minimum and apart from demands that some other points be included, we have drawn conclusions and noted that all republics are in agreement that such a minimum should be outlined. This minimum should ensure the functioning of our state and its legal, monetary, fiscal, and other systems, including military, security, and foreign relations. This should secure time and conditions for the reform to continue. On the other hand, this should pave the way for an agreement to be reached on future relations in the country.

We support the stand whereby the focus should be placed on the contents, the quality, and the system. [sentence as received] Talks on relations in the country should be based on this. Otherwise, it would be extraordinarily difficult to reach an agreement, noted the FEC president.

On the other hand, we think that regardless of which political options have won—and this also refers to the options that won in Serbia—no one has the right to impose them on others. Talks should be approached without any preconditions and preconceptions, and should seek solutions that would ensure that life in our country will continue.

Without committing oneself in advance to this or that decision, or this or that solution, and leaving all options open at present, we think that the logic of interests and the system we are developing—even if we do not conduct talks on this basis—would give positive replies to questions about future relations in our country.

The market itself and the system built on the basis of market relations are not ideal because they contain a series of weaknesses. The fact is, however, that this is the only system that has managed to solve all contradictions of modern development efficiently, rationally, and successfully, Markovic recalled.

Having chose in favor of this system [word as received], we think that it is sufficiently interesting for every citizen and sufficiently stimulating for all parts of the country, and at the same time sufficiently just from the aspect of achieving the necessary efficiency at work, raising productivity, and raising the degree of our entire way of civilized living on a new material basis. This system ought to provide us with the material basis and opportunity for solving not only internal but also mutual relations, in what I would describe to be an equally attractive milieu for all parts of the country. Objectively and realistically, this is the only chance of reaching an agreement on the future way of life in our country, Markovic thinks.

I think it is encouraging that, in the course of the talks with all republican governments and executive councils, all, apart from one environment [as received] expressed interest in mending the disrupted relations. All were urging the establishment of the legal order and were expressing readiness to abide by that legal order. Furthermore, all voiced preparedness to recover financially the incursions they made into the country's payment operations. All were urging to repay previous incursions into the federal budget during 1990. Furthermore, all, except for one republic, agree that the incursion into the monetary system should be financially recovered.

Later on, Markovic noted that some republics, agreeing with the mentioned 11 and three further points, asked that the incursion be financially recovered and that the situation be normalized.

The adoption of this—and we, as the Federal Executive Council, will propose that this be adopted at the joint session to be held in the SFRY Presidency on 28 January with all republican presidents—would provide the basis for drafting a document. The document would then be endorsed by the republics and the Federal Assembly. At the same time we shall develop everything—starting from legislature and operational tasks—which will ensure the functioning of the legal system, payment operations, monetary system, financial disipline, and everything else that is not functioning now. We shall demand that everyone publicly supports this and agrees to pass laws and grant the necessary powers to the FEC to implement these laws.

If all this is approved, then the FEC will be ready to take responsibility for the functioning of that system, thereby paving the way for the reforms, and will take responsibility for implementing this year's macroeconomic policy and for securing time and conditions for negotiations, which—in our view—will last at least half a year and perhaps the entire year.

If the year is dominated by such talks and results in a new agreement on relations in Yugoslavia, which would ensure a peaceful, democratic, and humane solution of relations in the country and the development of all parts of the country as a whole with the same units but with a new system and new relations, then I believe that a year of talks and invested efforts is very short indeed, Markovic noted.

Asked whether Yugoslavia will ultimately exist, Markovic said he believed that for the most part the answer has already been provided by his address so far. If this minimum of functions is accepted—and it only corresponds to a minimum of requirements, it does not mean reducing the Constitution, but only means that the basic elements of the Constitution and legal system as well as the appropriate mechanisms for the functioning of this system are carried out with discipline in the future and the reformist process is continued—then I believe there is no doubt that it is in the interest of all parts of this country to preserve the country as a whole.

Replying to a comment that his usual optimism is still there, the FEC president said that optimism should have its due role. I maintain, he added, that there are realistic chances of gaining a positive outcome. In this context I would like to emphasize that there are still several highly controversial issues remaining that must be discussed because otherwise, we believe, a satisfying solution to relations in the country can hardly be secured.

There is no full agreement yet on the methods of drawing up Yugoslavia's budget, its elements and constituent parts as well as of securing contributions to it. This must still be discussed.

The second controversial issue that we must agree on is how to sustain the funds for developing the country's undeveloped parts in the interim period. We maintain that the problem of the undeveloped parts and of the army and some other sections of our society is essentially a matter of future agreement, and they should not be prejudiced yet. This is why the FEC suggests that the way of pooling funds for the undeveloped parts, drawn up in the past period, be continued in 1991, Markovic explained.

The third controversial issue refers to the financial reorganization of the banks, because the two republics disagree with the reorganization at the federal level. We think that there can be no further reforms before the reorganization of the banking and financial systems of the country, because a market of money and capital cannot otherwise be constituted. Apart from this, the illness of the banks is like cancer, with a tendency to spread. It must be nipped in the bud. Some parts of the country wish to carry out this reorganization of banks on their own, which would not be too bad and with which I fully agree. This is controversial, however, as long as the fiscal, monetary, and financial systems are functioning in a state—and they have to function until such an agreement is reached showing that it is not so but that it is otherwise [as received]—until then there is no chance of anyone reorganizing any part of this system without reorganizing the entire organism. Markovic supported his stand by giving an example of three wine producers who all produce excellent wine but store it in interlinked containers. None of them can preserve good quality wine if one of the other pours water into it. This would cause chaos in all parts of the system.

To reoganize Yugoslavia's banking system we have to reorganize the system as a whole. We suggest that it be done gradually: first, we have a linear reorganization where we must all together, and then individually, show interest, the FEC president noted.

There are two concepts of resolving social problems, apart from the FEC proposals. One is to prepare an integral Yugoslav social policy program, with the federal state having a considerable share in it. There is also another proposal whereby each republic could have its own social program.

Regarding social welfare programs, we hold that the federation should have taken part in them, but only as a support for republican programs and not as an integral part. There are still, of course, some problems with financing the army, and with some other issues, but it looks as if these could be overcome.

Asked what he expects from the 28 January SFRY Presidency session, Markovic stressed that, on the basis of the talks so far, not only are FEC stands implemented—if this word can be used—and accepted, but at the same time all environments have started to rally behind the FEC stands. He went on to state that the FEC will have another opportunity to explain everything to everyone, especially controversial issues, once everything is arranged in the form of a package and put together with proposed measures, laws, and operational instructions, all of which the FEC will set out in the open. Another round of discussions should be held on controversial issues and on this basis an opportunity should be given to all participants to voice their views about the document. It seems to me that the document is sufficiently developed and that it has every chance of being endorsed; possibly, some controversial issue will also require discussion. I believe that at this moment we have a significant opportunity to reach an agreement that would pave the way for an historical agreement about Yugoslavia, FEC President Ante Markovic concluded.

Emergency Presidency Session Convened 25 Jan

LD2501144591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—An emergency session of the SFRY Presidency has been convened for this afternoon.

According to the announcement from the information service of the Presidency, the session will examine a report on the situation in the country in connection with the implementation of the SFRY Presidency's order on the return of weapons and disarming of paramilitary units.

At the end of the session of the SFRY Presidency, the information service announces, a public statement will be issued.

FEC Considers Talks Among Markovic, Republics

LD2401222691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's session the FEC considered the results of the talks between FEC President Ante Markovic and the executive councils and governments of the republics on the necessary minimum for the functioning of the Federation until a final agreement on the profile of Yugoslavia is reached, the FEC Secretariat for Information reports.

Of the 11 FEC proposals, the majority of the republican executive councils and governments have accepted a total of eight, and these are: the convertibility of the dinar as a single Yugoslav currency; a single monetary policy; foreign exchange reserves to ensure the liquidity of the country and the convertibility of the dinar; the unhindered functioning of payment operations throughout the country; the functioning of an integrated and open market; the assumption of responsibility at all levels for keeping personal and public expenditure within the limits of agreed policy; guaranteed further restructuring of ownership; and the execution of the agreed responsibilities of the Federation in the sphere of national defense, state security, and international affairs. Three issues remained without majority support: the recovery of the banks; the adoption of social programs and guarantee of funds for them; and the observance of the present concept of generating funds for financing the functions of the federation.

The FEC has decided to stand by its 11-plus-3 proposals as a minimum (these three additions concern the adoption of amendments to the SFRY Constitution ensuring the functioning of the federal services, particularly the SFRY Assembly, and the unhindered flow of information) with the condition that further consultations will take place on the contentious issues. These proposals will be supplemented by the demand voiced in the talks in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro, that the method of regulating assistance to the underdeveloped regions should be added to the proposed minimum of the functioning of the federation.

In accordance with its decisions on the necessary reduction of general expenditure, the FEC decided to embark on a revision of the business activities of the FEC and the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which will include drawing up a balance sheet of federal funds and a reduction in administration in the federal services. [passage omitted]

FEC Sets Minimum Requirements for Agreement

AU2401160091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 91 p 1

[V. Vignjevic report: "Eleven Questions Make Up the Minimum for Survival"]

[Text] Belgrade—The achievement of a political consensus on a democratic denouement to the crisis on the basis of the incipient economic and political reforms is the prerequisite for Yugoslavia to function as a community. Now that multiparty elections have been held in all republics, agreement should be reached on the issues that are most important for the normal functioning of the state in the period before a final agreement is reached. Therefore, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] considers that it is crucial to immediately put an end to negative processes and provide conditions for the life of society in a period that is necessary for a transition from the institutions of the old system, which is in collapse, to a new system of institutions and relations on the basis of a new and historic agreement between the Yugoslav peoples.

These are some of the assessments and stands regarding the situation in the country and the measures for it to be surmounted, which the Federal Government submitted to the SFRY Assembly yesterday.

The FEC underscores that for the stability of the period before a new agreement is reached, it is necessary to agree that the minimum be comprised of the following issues: the convertibility of the dinar as a common Yugoslav currency; the monetary policy and role of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which, once other economic policy measures are changed, will ensure convertibility; the foreign currency reserves that will ensure the country's foreign liquidity and the convertibility of the dinar; unhindered payment transactions in the country and abroad; the creation of the necessary conditions for the functioning of an integral market open to the world; respect for the present concept of raising finance for the functions of the federation; and undertaking obligations at all levels to maintain personal and public expenditure within the limits of the established policy. The facilitation of further property restructuring, a program for the consolidation of the banking and finance system, the adoption of welfare programs and meeting the federation's established obligations in the field of defense, state security, and international affairs are also a prerequisite for stability in this transitional period.

If the processes further undermining the vital functions of the system were to continue, we would get into economic, political, and legal chaos and anarchy with the most serious consequences for relations in the country and its survival, the Federal Government warns.

The proposed policy and measures for this year ensure the continued process of reforms but apart from these, one should provide other conditions for achieving agreement on the future structure of relations in a Yugoslav community, and these are above all: complete the process of adopting the amendments to the SFRY Constitution but if this is not possible, agree on solutions that facilitate the future course of reforms and multiparty elections for the Federal Chamber; ensure the functioning of federal services, above all the SFRY Assembly, Presidency, and the FEC, and create conditions for the unhindered flow of information throughout Yugoslavia.

The FEC will advocate that these orientations be realized, but it is also willing to participate in searching for any other solution that leads to the achievement of the aforementioned aims, it is also stressed. It is the historical responsibility of the services in the republics that were set up at multiparty elections to, together with the federal services, continue the reform and not undermine the further course of the democratic transformation of the country. The functioning of the system in all parts of the country, regardless of the election results and institutional changes is a basic prerequisite for the conflict-ridden transition from the old to the new system to be resolved in a democratic way in an atmosphere of respect, tolerance, and equality and thus prevent the potential for different solutions, the Federal Government underscores.

This year is a key year not only for the success or failure of the reform but also for the survival of Yugoslavia as a state. We therefore find ourselves at fateful crossroads—will we allow processes that will have consequences for all the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and that will confront all citizens with the inevitability of serious conflicts or will we, by continuing the reform, provide conditions for a peaceful, legal, and democratic way out of the crisis, the FEC states, among other things.

Statement on Disarming Deadline Extension

LD2401170291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Statement issued by SFRY Presidency Information Bureau spokesman; place and date not given]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—In connection with differing versions and media speculation about why the deadline for the enforcement of the SFRY Presidency decree on disarming and disbanding illegally armed formations was extended, the Information Bureau of the SFRY Presidency issued the following statement:

On the eve of the 19 January deadline for handing in arms, SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic gave assurances in the course of talks with SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic and Federal Secretary for National Defense Army General Valjko Kadijevic that, in line with the Presidency decree, 20,000 illegally acquired automatic rifles will be stored in warehouses, which will be under joint police and Yugoslav People's Army control. Further, that police reservist formations will be disbanded and it will be ensured that reservists are not in possession of arms.

In order to implement this, he asked the SFRY Presidency to extend the deadline for 48 hours—in other words until 2400 on 21 January.

In line with this, the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs sent an appropriate demand to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Although the SFRY Presidency extended the deadline for disarming and disbanding illegally armed formations, appropriate Croatian bodies did not fulfill their side of the bargain.

National Bank Views Illegal Money Issue

AU2401134991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Jan 91 p 15

[J. Kesic report: "Illegally Printed 15.5 Billions"]

[Text] Belgrade—Auditors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia confirmed that the National Banks of Serbia, Croatia, and Vojvodina released money through the primary issue, all together 15.5 billion dinars. Out of this amount, the National Bank of Serbia issued 10.4 billion dinars, the National Bank of Vojvodina 2.8 billion dinars, and the National Bank of Croatia 1.8 billion dinars.

This was stated by Dusan Vlatkovic, governor of our central bank, at a news conference. He explained that irregularities in using money from the primary issue have been found in most banks, but after the audit they were corrected, although the irregularities still remain in some banks. The question whether there were legal grounds for the Bank of Slovenia to issue money worth 200 million German marks to help overcome liquidity problems remains to be answered in the near future.

The measure of the Board of Governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia that temporarily bans the primary issue is still in effect, and will only be lifted for those national banks that return all of the unlawfully issued money. It was found that all national banks had breached the regulations, although some of them insignificantly, at least in one of five or six different ways that the money can be issued. The National Bank of Macedonia was yesterday allowed to again release money through the primary issue after it had brought its activities in accordance with the regulations. It is expected that all of the unlawfully issued money could be returned by the end of this month.

According to Branko Dragas, the vice-governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, last year the bank sold 4.2 billion dollars and bought 2.1 billion dollars on the foreign exchange market. In 1990, 5.6 billion dollars were sold to the citizens and our hard currency reserves amounted to 6.7 billion dollars. It had been planned that the reserves would increased by 860 million dollars but they only increased by 745 million dollars.

Bucin Address in 10 January Presidency Session

AU2201094991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 91 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Excerpts Nenad Bucin speech," at the Presidency session on 10 January: "Anti-Yugoslavism As the Main Program"]

[Excerpts] I think that we can approach today's discussion in two ways: either as an agreement on further talks—as one of the participants in our joint session said (the following is not attributable to him)—with the clear intention not to hold talks about the questions concerning the existence and transformation of the federation in official and authorized services and bodies of the federation, and a thesis, which is certainly a cynical thesis, that the talks ought to be better prepared (this is not the case, this was only my assumption. My impression is that we are all well prepared).

This was stated, among other things, by Nenad Bucin, member of the SFRY Presidency, and the SFRY Presidency's session on 10 January.

Or, the other possible approach is that the substantive talks start here today. I am glad that this is in fact the case, but we must also not preclude the discussions conducted by all other subjects in other places and with different participants, excluding, of course, international bodies and forums, which was mentioned as a possibility here today.

I am absolutely in favor of the second approach for the following reasons:

Both federal services and bodies, including the SFRY Presidency, are the most competent places for the meetings and talks of this kind. Those services and bodies, are or will soon be, spared possible reproaches of their alleged illegitimacy. Let us recall, this has been emphasized as the main objection as well as the justification for disavowing them either as the initiator or the organizer of such activities.

Federal services and bodies share together with the appropriate republican services the indisputable responsibility for the current state of affairs and a lack of real and effective initiatives of this kind, that is, the responsibility for the situation and relations that substituted the spirit and atmosphere of serious and productive negotiations and agreements with corresponding relations and manners, quarrels about errors and culprits, and crazy accusations, something that pushed us further and further in the mire of disharmony, alienation, and confrontations. [passage omitted]

On the Yugoslav political scene there is not currently a more serious, more influential, and more efficient political organization of the Yugoslav orientation and aims that would offer at least an acceptable hope that the more important forces in society will work on the preservation of our community.

Therefore, this renders the historic responsibility of the present Yugoslav state institutions, and I also mean the Yugoslav People's Army, that much greater. [passage omitted]

I think our main and joint approach to these talks should not be, as has erroneously been in the past, both in terms of methodology and substance, the question of "a federation or a confederation." I am not saying this at all for some politicking-party reasons—which even encouraged some respectable university professors and academicians and experts on constitutional and other legal matters to publicly say that the difference between the terms "confederation and federation" is not essential but rather a verbal-formal difference—but because I think that this basic principle of "a federation or a confederation" inevitably leads to entrenchment and assumption of unyielding starting positions.

Some time ago I spoke, and I think there is a record of that, here in the Presidency—and I am glad that this was also stated today by Mr. Izetbegovic, of course, completely independently from my opinion,—in favor of talks whose starting point would not be such, but would be contained in the following question: which functions of our unquestionable republican sovereignty are we prepared to transfer to the joint state (which I would prefer to call the federal state), and which functions do we want to perform ourselves?

Allow me to say that the essence of the matter does not lie in how we are going to call such a community, but which functions it will, according to our agreement and consent, have and perform as joint functions, and which functions will be performed by the sovereign republics. This could therefore result in the definition of such a community, expressed in its constitutional-legal status and name, whereby the very notion and name of Yugoslavia should not be disputable. [passage omitted]

Arrival of Military Planes in Zagreb Reported

AU2401175091 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Croatian Information Minister Milovan Sibl confirmed that the 20,000 men of the Croatian police force had been put on alert. He said that the reason is the increased troop movements of the Yugoslav Army. By no means will the Croatian police take the first step toward a possible confrontation, the minister stressed. We are well prepared for an emergency, Minister Sibl said.

Before that, the Croatian news agency, HINA, reported that 14 miliary planes with war material and soldiers had landed at the airport in Zagreb.

A crisis session of the Croatian Parliament has been called for tomorrow. The situation in Zagreb is tense. Reportedly, inhabitants have started to accumulate provisions.

Croatia Demands Withdrawal of Federal Statement

LD2401190991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—The government of the Republic of Croatia, which President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman convened today in line with his constitutional powers, has adopted five decisions on which an official statement from the Ministry of Information was issued this evening.

These decisions were adopted "in connection with the statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the order of the SFRY Presidency":

"1. The government has decided to propose to the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia that it adopt a decision to the effect that in the Republic of Croatia, only federal laws that do not contravene the constitution of the Republic of Croatia should be applied.

"2. The government is assuming responsibility for arming the active and reserve police forces and special units, which has been carried out on the basis of a government decision.

"3. The government is opposed to all decisions giving the Yugoslav People's Army powers that are within the competence of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

"4. The government has ordered the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia to continue to disarm all illegal groups. Likewise, it has decided that the active and reserve police forces should remain in a state of readiness for as long as the legal order in the Republic of Croatia is threatened.

"5. The government calls on the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and its president, Ante Markovic, to guarantee respect for the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, particularly within the sphere of internal affairs. The government also calls on the FEC to demand the withdrawal of yesterday's announcement by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense," the official statement of the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Croatia says in conclusion.

Croatian Minister Appeals for International Help

LD2401224691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2121 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, January 24, (TANJUG)—Croatian Foreign Minister Vinko Frane Golem on Thursday afternoon informed the consuls general in Zagreb about the developments in the republic, stressing that the tension is nearing culmination.

A statement issued in Zagreb tonight said that Golem asked the consuls to inform their governments about this. The statement added that Golem stressed that Croatia, at this moment, badly needed the support of the whole free world.

The Croatian Council of the European movement (CCEM) on Thursday appealed to a number of European institutions and the ambassadors of European Community and European Free Trade Association countries [words indistinct] Yugoslavia.

The CCEM appeal points out that Croatia was threatened by a military intervention and sets out that an internationalization of the events in the republic was a pre-condition for peaceful solution.

The relations between Croatia and the Yugoslav State Presidency and army leadership have deteriorated after the Yugoslav Defence Ministry's statement issued on Wednesday. The statement asked the republic to implement the order of the State Presidency on the disarming of all paramilitary formations on its territory.

The Croatian government on Thursday decided to oppose this decision, stating it would keep the regular and reserve police in a state of preparedness until the legal order in the republic is threatened and resolutely defend the sovereignty of the republic.

Croatian Ruling Party Urges National Defense

LD2401231991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2216 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 24 January (TANJUG)—The executive council of the central body of the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ] has sent from its session, held in Zagreb this afternoon, an "appeal to HDZ members, HDZ municipal organizations and branches in Croatia, Yugoslavia and abroad: The Croatian people and all citizens of Croatia are calling on them to defend Croatia."

The appeal, broadcast by Croatian television and radio, speaks of "insolent violations of the constitution, unlawful activities of the Greater Serbian, hegemony-minded, unitarist and bolshevik groups and forces, who are obviously united in their aim to topple the democratically elected authorities in Croatia."

The HDZ executive council maintains that synchronized joint action is needed "to demonstrate our readiness to defend the sacrosanct ideals of Croatia's freedom." It also expressed support for the decisions of the president of the republic, the assembly and government of Croatia, while the people are called on "to take part in peaceful protest rallies in Croatia and abroad this Saturday, 26 January, at 1300.

"The Croatian Party of Justice [Hrvatska Stranka Prava—HSP]" calls, in its statement, on all its members as well as the whole Croatian nation "to unite in the struggle against the Greater Serbian champions of hegemony and defend Croatia's democratic processes and national interests."

Reiterating its demand for setting up "a national salvation government," which would comprise representatives of all political parties, this party demands that "arms be immediately distributed to everyone capable to defend their homeland regardless of their party allegiances."

The HSP demands that the Croatian leadership address the UN and the Security Council and request them "to send in the blue helmets to Croatia." [passage omitted]

Croatian Court: Federal Order Unconstitutional

LD2501005191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2320 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia stated tonight that at its session today, held in the wake of the SFRY Presidency's order of 9 January and the announcement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense of 23 January, it had established that there had been a degree of unconstitutionality and unlawfulness in these documents so it maintains that "by these acts and moves the interests and rights, endorsed by the constitution and legislation, have been threatened."

The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia is submitting, in accordance with its competences, its position to the Croatian Assembly in the form of information.

The Croatian Constitutional Court, the lenghty announcement says among other things, suggests to the Croatian Assembly to pass the necessary decisions and measures "to protect the sovereignty, interests, and rights of the Republic of Croatia and the basic rights of its citizens."

The Croatian Constitutional Court is also considering the question of the constitutionality of these acts before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia.

The explanation of this position states that the SFRY Presidency's order and the announcement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense "was an attempt at taking over the constitutional competences of president of the Republic of Croatia". It also states that the order and statement are unconstitutional and unlawful, not only according to the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, they are also in contravention of the 1974 SFRY Constitution.

"The SFRY Presidency was empowered, on the basis of Amendment 41, Paragraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution, to pass, at its own initiative or at the suggestion of the Federal Executive Council in a state of war or in the event of a direct threat of war, measures with legislative powers regarding the issues under the SFRY Assembly's competence. The SFRY Presidency did not pass such a measure so even then there were no preconditions for it to issue the order which it passed on 9 January without carrying out the required procedure", it is said, among other things, in the announcement of the Croatian Constitutional Court in whose opinion the order also contravenes Article 6, Paragraph 3, of the Law on All-People's Defense.

Croats Deny Request for Deadline Extension

AU2401135491 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jan 91 p 3

[B. T. report: "Who Sought Extension]

[Text] Zagreb—Was the deadline for surrendering weapons and "disbanding illegal military units" extended for 48 hours upon the request of the government of the Republic of Croatia, as reported by the SFRY Presidency's Service for Information via TANJUG on Saturday evening? As we have unofficially learned from sources close to the Croatian leadership, the request was not placed by the government of Croatia, but emerged in an informal agreement between Petar Gracanin, federal minister of internal affairs, and Josip Boljkovac, republican minister of internal affairs, to allow time for the collection of all weapons which people might still hold without permission.

Therefore, it appears that the Gracanin-Boljkovac working agreement was "skillfully" used for a statement which places the Croatian government directly and officially in the middle of the decision to extend the deadline for the surrender of weapons.

Croatian Opposition Supports Republican Power

LD2501025991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2353 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 24 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Party of Democratic Changes (PDC), the strongest opposition party in the Republic of Croatia, said today that the statement by the Yugoslav Defence Ministry about the situation in Croatia was a "further step in the direction of the alienation of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) [JNA] from the organs of the state."

The PDC at a meeting held today urged the "YPA's command to refrain from any political assessments and actions in Croatia." The party also expressed support for the republican government to "use all available means to counter the YPA's pressures on the new, democratically-elected, republican authorities."

In contrast to reactions in Croatia, Serbian war veterans from Croatia, whose organization has its seat in Belgrade, today expressed support for the Yugoslav Presidency's and the Defence Ministry's instructions to the Croatian authorities to disband all paramilitary groups in the republic.

The veterans said the refusal of the Croatian authorities to honour the order indicates that they are preparing to settle accounts with the Serbian people living in that republic.

The veterans also expressed hope that in case force is used against Serbs living in Croatia the YPA would come to their aid, given that it has pledged to protect all Yugoslav citizens.

The order the Yugoslav Presidency issued on January 9 and last night's statement by the Yugoslav Defence Ministry are unconstitutional and illegal acts, which "endanger the interests and rights of Croatia," the Croatian constitutional court said this evening.

Tudjman Hints at Strategy After Arms Deadline

AU2401152391 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 91 p 1

[S. Z. report: " 'We Will Defend Freedom and Democracy'"]

[Text] Sarajevo—After talks in the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, visited the premises of the Croatian Democratic Community in Sarajevo on Monday evening and met members of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina branch of the Croatian Democratic Community, deputies in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, and representatives of the Catholic Church. Dr. Tudjman was accompanied by Assembly president Dr. Zarko Domljan and Josip Manolic, head of the government of Croatia. The guests were welcomed by Stjepan Kljuic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina branch of the Croatian Democratic Community and member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Responding to President Kljuic's welcome, Dr. Tudjman said:

"Ladies and gentlemen! I have travelled a lot in the last three years, and this meeting with you is certainly one of the most moving ones. Above all, allow me to congratulate you on everything you have achieved in Bosnia-Hercegovina as Croats, as an integral part of the Croatian people, as people who with their votes have come out in favor of freedom, democracy, and the idea of cohabitation on foundations of equality. You have truly achieved in the fullest sense more than we expected, although we in Croatia were in such a position that we were unable to offer you more than we actually did. I even wanted to come and visit you and particularly those in Hercegovina, but I could not manage this. Unfortunately I even have to cut short today's meeting with you. Today's talks in the Presidency of the Bosnia-Hercegovina suffered this fate, too.

"The SFRY Presidency order on disarmament was acceptable in the formal sense because it concerned the disarmament of illegal groups, but it was essentially aimed at disarming the Republic of Croatia. There were various movements, initiatives, and statements to the effect that one should disarm the militia of Croatia, which we had armed according to the law and the Constitution because internal affairs are within the sphere of legislation and the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia. Today, when the deadline expires, there are still people who want this to be carried out. We have so far prevented this, and we will continue to manage to prevent it. You have probably heard my statement and that of the government that if the freedom, democracy, and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia is undermined, we will defend Croatia with the militia forces that we have and we will also call on the Croatian people. This should be borne in mind. People have contacted us from throughout the world. We have told them that there is no need at the moment, but if there is a need then we will accept their help. We will not miss this historical moment when a new Europe is being created.

"I am sorry that I had to say this to you because I think that we will avoid this. However, there are irrational moments in politics, and there are also those who spread ideas about a greater Serbia: You have been able to see this on maps of the border of this Serbia. I am convinced that the democratically expressed will of the Croatian people and the establishment of the Republic of Croatia are also a guarantee for the future of the Croatian people in Bosnia- Hercegovina. You have recently had the chance to read or hear about our delegation's visits to the United States, Germany, and Austria. There will be others, which all means that the Republic of Croatia is a reality. If from tonight onward, we are put into some situations we do not want, rest assured that we will know how to and be able to triumphantly extricate ourselves from them.

"That is all, dear friends. I hope that we will meet in more favorable circumstances, and then we will speak more about your economic, cultural, and other problems, I have to go because there are some important indications that warn me that this is what I should do. Thank you very much."

The Archbishop of Sarajevo, Monsignor Dr. Puljic, then greeted President Tudjman and in a brief speech, the president returned the greeting and thanked the archbishop and the others for their cordial reception and warm words.

Tudjman on Presidency Order; Offers Suggestions

AU2401163791 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Croatian Government opened at 1400, a day before the Croatian Assembly session planned for tomorrow. The Government discussed the situation today in the wake of last night's announcement, issued by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Vesna Knezevic reports:

[Knezevic] In conformity with a provision in the Republican Constitution, the extraordinary government session was chaired by President Franjo Tudjman. Tudjman said that the part of the SFRY Presidency Order concerning the disarmament of unlawful formations was deliberately confusing, and this is also true of last night's announcement by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. He said that both documents apply to the disarmament of legal forces within the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia. Therefore, Tudjman suggests to the Government that it adopt the following measures together with the Assembly: First, only those federal laws that are not contrary to republican laws may be implemented on the territory of Croatia. Second, by a special decision, the government should take over responsibility for the composition and armament of the Croatian police because it was impossible to obtain weapons through federal services. Third, the Yugoslav Army's attempts to take over the powers of the republican militia should be opposed. The republican reserve militia will remain in a state of preparedness until the situation in Croatia is normalized. It is demanded of the Federal Government that it ensure that all federal services respect the sovereignty of Croatia, particularly concerning the sphere of internal affairs.

After this, Army Minister Martin Spegelj and Police Minister Josip Boljkovac spoke for five minutes each. Spegelj pointed out that as of noon today, the highest possible degree of combat readiness has been announced, as well as realized, in the Fifth Army District, and that, I quote, the plan is being implemented in a certain way. Further on, he pointed out that he has been receiving reports on the concentration of various Army units along roads leading toward Zagreb. I quote Spegelj: The reports are partly untrue, but one can admit that some of them may be true.

Spegelj pointed out that provocations on the part of the military authorities in Croatia are continuing, and that Croatia will do everything in its power not to respond. Among other things, he mentioned movements of tank units in Gorica, Bjelovar, and Varazdin.

The minister of police, Boljkovac, said that when they met two days ago, Federal Minister Gracanin promised to do everything, along with Federal Prime Minister Markovic, in talks with Federal Defense Minister Kadijevic to, I quote, reduce military activities to a normal level.

Boljkovac read a certain telefax message that he had received at 1230 —he did not say from whom—in which the Croatian police are requested to stop intercepting soldiers in Croatia and checking their identity. Boljkovac spoke in a very confused way, but it seems that Croatia is ready to meet that demand.

Here is a quote confirming that the situation in the field is chaotic. Boljkovac: As long as I am a minister, I will order the arrest of all those people, whatever party they belong to, who lament [as heard] with rifles in the field and who provoke the Army.

Speaking on behalf of the two ministries, Boljkovac says that Croatia will not provide a cause for the Army to attack, but will do everything to be ready.

Republican Prime Minister Manolic demands that the Federal Government withdraw the announcement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense because it is, he says, absolutely meant to prevent the inter-republican dialogue that is under way. This is why it is not known what impact this meeting today may have on the meeting between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, planned for tomorrow in Belgrade.

'Provocative' Army Activities in Croatia Viewed

AU2501095791 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 91 p 16

[HINA report: "The Psychosis of Fear"]

[Text] Zagreb—The psychological-propaganda war that has been waged in recent days against Croatia, after the order for illegal armed groups to return their arms, was heightened on Monday with a string of provocative measures and activities that have been observed in the units of the Yugoslav People's Army on the whole territory of the Republic of Croatia. It is understood in appropriate circles that this widespread activity is calculated to frighten not only the populace but also the officer cadre in army units and even to provoke an incident that could create a general feeling of insecurity and fear, thus justifying army intervention.

Tension increased after the SFRY Presidency announced that, at the request of the government of the Republic of Croatia, the deadline for returning arms had been extended by 48 hours, even though no such request had been made at the level of the government of the Republic of Croatia. Such a statement by the Information Service of the SFRY Presidency was aimed at, among other things, claiming that Croatia is not able to organize the collection of arms from illegal armed groups, which would mean, in other words, that someone else would have to collect them, and this could only be the Yugoslav People's Army.

Even though in official statements, representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army have announced that they will respect the new government's services and that they will not make an already difficult political climate worse, many activities of the army authorities at all levels actually indicate the opposite. For example, in Vinkovci military guards were standing outside the apartments of members of the officer cadre with their guns ready to fire. A truck full of soldiers raced to the center of Djakovo, the soldiers ran off in all directions, and then gathered together again and left the way they had come. In the Marshall Tito barracks in Zagreb and in another in Dugo Selo, tanks' motors were left running for 30 to 40 minutes and some tanks even set off for the exit, only to return to the interior of the barracks. Several trucks full of soldiers have raced around Zagreb at different times and in different directions, frightening citizens.

Speaking to officers, the commander of the garrison in Vitrovitica said that they were under threat and therefore must constantly carry weapons when they are dressed in their uniforms or civilian clothes. Military helicopters have flown and hovered over buildings of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia. Speaking in Jastrebarsko several days ago, Lieutenant General Ivo Tominc announced that it was decided at a meeting of generals in Belgrade that: first, illegal formations are to be disarmed; second, the army would fight for the federation; third, that a unified Yugoslav People's Army would be fought for; and fourth, that the Army would insist on the creation of a new Communist Party Movement for Yugoslavia. All these activities have been accompanied in recent days by repeated rumors that strong parachute and other army forces are being prepared in Nis and are due to be transferred to Croatia and Slovenia.

The aggressive policy that has in recent days been conducted by the militant, conservative, and unitaristic part of the generals in the leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army is not supported by many officers, regardless of nationality, because they are aware of the dangers that this policy represents for peace in the whole country and for the historical agreement among Yugoslav peoples, which has just begun with the first meeting in Belgrade and the announced bilateral meetings between the democratically elected representatives of the republics-states.

Proceeding from the legitimacy that they won at last year's elections, the services of authority of the Republic of Croatia have, however, no reason to deviate from the stands adopted at the session of the Council for Defense and Protection of the Constitutional Order of the Republic of Croatia under the threats that are coming from bellicose, greater Serbian generals. The stands say, among other things: "The Republic of Croatia will use all available means to oppose any attempt by the Army to interfere in affairs that are under the jurisdiction of the constitutional-legal powers of the Internal Affairs Ministry" and "the Republic of Croatia will use all available means to defend its economic and political sovereignty and mobilize the entire Croatian people in the country and the world, as well as the entire democratic public."

Croatia's 'Aggressive' Policy Condemned on TV

LD2401223991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in English 2033 GMT 24 January

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (TANJUG)—A commentary in the evening news programme on Belgrade television on Thursday night said that an atmosphere and psychosis which could lead to undesired disagreements and confrontations existed in Croatia, and [word indistinct] the Yugoslav People's Army issued an appeal for the immediate disbanding of all mobilized formations.

If such an opportunity is missed just like the chance to settle the problem without the use of legal sanctions, then the Croatian leadership should be blamed, and not the Yugoslav People's Army. Obviously, such an atmosphere of war and the spreading of hatred towards Yugoslavia and its army are necessary to the Croatian leadership's aggressive policy to further dismantle Yugoslavia, and maintain its interests and positions, the commentary says.

The army explicitly said it would not take over power or topple legitimate institutions of the system. The army said its judicial organs would launch proceedings against responsible persons, regardless of where or who they are. We believe that even certain individuals in the Croatian leadership, who undoubtedly cooked all this up, will also be called to account, the commentary on Belgrade television said.

Arrests for 'Armed Uprising' in Croatia

LD2501161191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] Information Service was asked to make the following announcement:

In the course of 24 and 25 January 1991, criminal units in the Yugoslav People's Army arrested several persons suspected of direct participation in organizing and arming illegal paramilitary organizations on the territory of Croatia. These people are also suspected of acts of sabotage and terrorism, as well as attacks on members of the Yugoslav People's Army, members of their families and military installations; in other words, an armed uprising.

Retired General on Croatian 'Right' to Arms

LD2501164891 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Summary] In the course of proceedings at the emergency session of the Croatian Assembly, which reopened at 1300 GMT, retired Gen. Ivan Rukavina, who is a guest at the session, spoke about his lifelong fight for Croatia under different circumstances. He also defended the setting up of territorial defense in the late sixties as necessitated by an imminent threat from the Warsaw Pact, whose tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia at that time. Following this, retired Gen. Rukavina said:

[Begin Rukavina recording] I do not want to discuss the current preparations. I approve of them fully, because the Croatian Republic has the right to organize its armed forces. [applause] Every nation has the right to organize its armed forces, because the right to defend one's independence is one of the fundamental democratic rights. No one can deny this. No one can criticize us for creating this or that type of force. One could only criticize us for organizing too few forces for the defense of this country. [applause] Finally, to make a long story short, I beg you in the future to try to exercise that democratic right and to organize Croatian republican armed forces as soon as possible. [applause] [end recording]

Tudjman's Personal Adviser Reported Leaving

AU2401155091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 91 p 5

[K. G. reports: "Letica Is Leaving Tudjman"]

[Text] Zagreb—On 1 March Slaven Letica will leave the position of a personal adviser to Dr. Franjo Tudjman and return to his post of a professor at Zagreb University. Reason: The three months' period during which Letica agreed to help the new president in resolving conceptual problems of "the new Croatian democracy" has long expired. In addition, as BORBA found out from sources close to the Croatian leadership, neither "the young Croatian democracy" nor Croatian leadership seem to be any longer obsessed with conceptual problems of Croatia, at least not as much as they were last summer when they engaged Dr. Letica. On the contrary, as BORBA found out, in the newly renovated and luxurious Banski Dvori situated in the Gornji Grad, the routine daily politics is more and more successfully displacing the conceptual problems and dilemmas.

With the departure of Dr. Letica, Dr. Tudjman looses his personal adviser, but he is not losing other counselors. Six or seven new people, specialists from different disciplines, will soon move to Banjski Dvori. Among them is Zvonko Lerotic, who was mentioned as an adviser on internal-political matters.

Private Firm Designs New Croatian Money

AU2401135391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Jan 91 p 20

[V. Djordjevic report: "Croatian Currency Presented"]

[Text] Zagreb—The participants in the first international meeting of bankers, organized by the "Promdei" holding company and held in the Croatian capital yesterday, were acquainted with the proposed new Croatian money, which will be sent to the government of the Republic of Croatia after this meeting. Ibrahim Dedic, the controversial owner of "Promdei", stated that the new currency called "nin" (the author of the design is Josko Marusic), whose value is 1 German mark, will be treated as a security by his bank regardless of the response of the Croatian government to this proposal. The meeting of bankers, which in the last few weeks caused stormy reactions in the public and in the banking establishment, was attended by many famous names from the financial world like Dr. Michael Keenoy from England, Dr. Felix Turel form the United States, Dr. Domenico Santa Cecca and Ernesto Prinzi from Italy, representatives from the banks of Yemen, Libya, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Austria, several domestic banks, and private entrepreneurs and companies.

The participants in the meeting were Bernardo Jurlina, vice-president of the government of the Republic of Croatia, Slaven Letica, adviser to the president of the Republic of Croatia, Boris Buzancic, the Mayor of Zagreb, Milivoj Juricic, vice-president of the Executive Council of Zagreb. The director and owner of "Promdei" greeted the participants and stated that the meeting will try to define the conditions for the development of banking business, especially for the private banking, exchange experiences with the representatives of foreign banks, and attempt to find projects that would be of mutual interest for both sides. Dedic announced that this is only the first in the string of similar meetings, and that another meeting will be organized in six months. It is expected that by the end of this two-day international meeting the domestic and foreign banks and interested companies will sign an agreement on international cooperation.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Denomination

Yesterday, the public was shown banknotes of 1, 10, 100, and 1000 "nins" and a coin worth a quarter of "nin", i.e. 25 "gvozds". The coins carry portraits of Marko Marulic (25 gvozds) and Ante Starcevic (1 nin) on one side and the Croatian coat of arms on the other. The banknotes have portraits of Rudjer Boskovic (10), Stjepan Radic (100), and governor Josip Jelacic (1000) on one side, while the other side shows monuments from Croatian history.

Tudjman, Milosevic Will Not Meet 25 Jan

AU2401214191 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Franjo Tudjman will not go to Belgrade tomorrow for talks with Slobodan Milosevic [Republic of Serbia president] about Yugoslavia's future. In a situation where Croatia is threatened with military intervention, it would be pointless to go to Belgrade to have talks, Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic said on the Croatian Television.

He also said that the top military leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army will have to step down and remove itself from the political scene, so political negotiations between Serbia and Croatia can be held. Speaking on Croatian television, Manolic explicitly said that Croatia will demand the resignation of the top military leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Tudjman at Croatian Assembly Emergency Session

LD2501111991 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Summary From Poor Reception] The emergency session of the Croatian Assembly convened by President Tudjman yesterday to discuss the statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense of 23 January, began at 1000 GMT this morning. In his opening address, Franjo Tudjman said:

"The SFRY Presidency order on the disarming of illegal paramilitary formations is not even based on federal constitutional law. Reference to the possibility of the use of military force in peace time under Article 316 of the constitution does not envisage the possibility of issuing any order of this kind. This was not a case of the application of the provisions of the SFRY constitution relating to article [number indistinct], para three of the law on all-people's defense regarding the powers of the SFRY Presidency to establish the existence of a state of emergency.

Therefore, the contentious order is unconstitutional and illegal. The SFRY Constitution does not recognize any state of emergency that exists as a concept in the abovementioned law on all-people's defense, so the constitutionality of this law can also justifiably be raised.

We have observed before the unconstitutionality and illegality of SFRY Presidency orders, but we decided not to initiate proceedings to establish their constitutionality in the present constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia, aware that the battle against us is not being waged by legal and political argument, but by special warfare and military pressure.

The real reson for our present concern is that the statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense indicates that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], bypassing the SFRY Presidency, is attempting to take the solution of the political crisis into its own hands.

This is a case, gentlemen, of an attempt by the JNA to carry out a form of military coup, whereby the armed forces of Yugoslavia would acquire the right to make political assessments of the democratically elected services of the Government in the Republic of Croatia and elsewhere; accusing them, in the worst Bolshevik manner, of collusion with foreign services, threats of arrests, and so on.

According to our information, a similar fate is intended for President Markovic because of his effort to implement economic and political reform."

SDS Deputies To Boycott Croatia Assembly

LD2501104191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatiana 1007 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Knin, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Not one of the five deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] will take part in the work of today's emergency session of the Croatian Assembly.

SDS deputies Radosav Tanjga, Jovo Opacic, Dusan Zelenbaba, Goran Licina, and Dusan Ergarac are unanimous in the view that, as things stand at present, regardless of how many days the assembly session lasts, not one of them will take part in its sitting because "there is nothing to be sought in the present configuration of attitudes toward the Serbian question in Croatia and in resolving the crisis."

Mesic on Serbia-Croatia Talks, Arms Issue

LD2401223591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2113 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Following his return from Belgrade, Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, explained at Zagreb airport the reasons behind the Presidency's decision to extend the deadline for handing back arms by 48 hours, and also commented on today's statement issued by the Presidency information service. Mesic believes that tomorrow's meeting between the delegations of Croatia and Serbia will take place.

Commenting on the SFRY Presidency information service's statement, Mesic said that the decision to postpone the deadline for returning arms was prompted by the fact that in the course of the collection of arms some municipalities have already done their job and returned some of the weapons, but not all of them; some municipalities have not handed back anything.

"This refers to the rebel municipalities, and since the order has not been fully carried out—we do not oppose the order in the least—I said that it would be beneficial to extend for a while the duration for the collection of arms. A two-day postponement was proposed. During this period more arms were collected and as far as this is concerned I think everything may have been all right," Mesic said.

Nevertheless, he added, returning 20,000 "Kalashnikovs" is out of the question; this is not at stake. What is a fact is that the Croatian police, including its reserve, special and regular staff, have weapons pertaining to their formation and they will stay there, particularly those belonging to the reserve staff, as long as they are needed.

The moment any kind of threats cease to exist—and as long as illegitimate groups keep their arms there will be threats—these weapons will be withdrawn because there will be no need for the reserve staff to keep them, Mesic said.

Replying to a question, he said that the army should carry out the tasks envisaged by its regular duty and that there is no need for it to tackle political problems.

It cannot solve them. They can only be solved by those who are in charge of them, the legitimate representatives of the republics and provinces.

If the army and its services carry out some tasks, they may do so, no one denies them this, but there is no need for this level of combat-readiness, Mesic said.

Asked whether tomorrow's meeting between the delegations of Serbia and Croatia will take place, Mesic said: "I believe it will."

Mesic's statement at Zagreb ariport was broadcast by Croatian television in tonight's current affairs program.

Serbian, Slovene Leaders Issue Joint Statement

LD2401220591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in English 2030 GMT 24 January

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (TANJUG)—Accord on the future order of Yugoslavia must acknowledge the differences in interests of [word indistinct] and republics if the political crisis in the country is to be resolved in a peaceful and democratic manner, the leaderships of Serbia and Slovenia agreed on Thursday.

According to a joint statement just released in Belgrade, it was concluded during the talks that the right of all Yugoslav nations to self-determination cannot be jeopardized by anything, or realized at the expense of other nations.

The statement said Serbia acknowledged Slovenia's interests to secure unhampered realization of the right of the Slovenian people and the Republic of Slovenia to its own path and its own commitments concerning the form of ties with other Yugoslav nations, that is, [words indistinct].

As set out, Slovenia, on the other hand, acknowledged the interest of the Serbian nation to live in one state and that the future Yugoslav accord should respect this interest;

Of the 10 million Serbs in Yugoslavia, nearly three million live outside the republic of Serbia. Serbs make up nearly 33 per cent of the population in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and, unofficially, around 20 per cent in Croatia. They have made it clear to the authorities in the respective republics that they would not accept the breaking up of Yugoslavia which would make them a minority in these republics.

Such a stand of the Serbs outside Serbia is the main stumbling block in relations between Croatia and Serbia, since Croatia, like Slovenia, wants an autonomous and a completely independent state. The other Yugoslav republics have opted for a somewhat modified federation.

The political bickering over the country's order has brought about an economic war of sorts between Serbia and Croatia.

It was assessed in the talks that mutual political and economic relations should be promoted. In this context, it was agreed that the republican governments meet and discuss the open questions in the interest of good relations and future cooperation, said the joint statement.

Slovene Official Protests Transfer of Soldiers

LD2401142291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1138 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Janez Jansa, Slovene republican secretary for national defense, today lodged a protest with the Federal Secretariat for National Defense over—as stressed in a statement—"a substantial transfer of Slovene soldiers serving their national conscription in the Fifth Military District."

"We demand that you immediately end the transfer," the protest specifies, "because any transfer of soldiers, if based on the principle of national affiliation, will have unacceptable consequences for relations between the Slovene Republic and the federation, and, furthermore, the relations between Slovenia and the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] will be exacerbated. The transfer oversteps normal JNA powers, because soldiers are being transfered even outside the Fifth Military District."

Official Protests Transfer

LD2401170591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1625 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Jan 24 (TANJUG)—The national defense secretary of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, Janez Jansa, sent a protest to the Federal Defense Secretariat today because of "larger transfers of soldiers of Slovene nationality serving their military term in the Fifth Army District."

"We request an immediate end to the transfers," "because the transfers of soldiers based on the nationality criterion will have unacceptable consequences for relations between the Republic of Slovenia and the federation, and will in particular strain the attitude toward the Yugoslav people [words indistinct] the transfers exceed the normal frameworks, since transfers outside the Fifth Army District are also involved," the protest said.

The Fifth Army District covers the Repubic of Slovenia and a part of the Republic of Croatia.

Slovene Radio Describes Situation in Zagreb

AU2401200791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 24 Jan 91

[Text] This morning, representatives of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party paid a visit to the Slovene Liberal-Democratic Party. They talked about the latest aggravation of the situation in Croatia. The guests said that the police control all the more important points in Zagreb, in particular after the announcement issued by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense yesterday.

Heavy trucks and buses that can be used to block traffic have been set along roads leading to the city. The same applies to bridges across the Sava in Zagreb.

The first degree of alert has applied in this republic since 1100, which is probably when the Croatian Government received the ultimatum from Belgrade.

Slovenian Parliament Discusses Situation 24 Jan

LD2501025391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0108 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—The world public is not changing its attitude towards events in Yugoslavia, and expects the accord on its future organization to be reached through peaceful negotiations and without the use of force, Slovenian Secretary for International Cooperation Dr. Dimitrije Rupel said in the republican parliament on Thursday.

The world favours Yugoslavia, and democracy and political pluralism in it, but it is not interfering in intra-Yugoslav negotiations on the country's future organization, Rupel said, stressing that "in a way this actually suits the militant circles in the country."

Rupel said Slovenia would continue to take over the functions of the Yugoslav Federation and to create both its legal system and all others enjoyed by sovereign states (Slovenians voted overwhelmingly in favour of sovereignty and independence at a plebiscite held in late December last year).

Republican Interior Secretary Igor Bavcar at Thursday's session of the parlaiment told deputies that the Yugoslav Presidency's order on the disbanding of paramilitary formations and return of all illegally held weapons was "imprecise," and that it had provoked tension and apprehension.

Bavcar said that full combat readiness had been introduced in Slovenia and that a climate of conflict was being created.

The series of measures adopted recently by the Slovenian Government include one which stipulates that Army reservists can no longer be called up for service in the Yugoslav People's Army without a certificate issued by a National Defence Office at communal level in Slovenia.

Daily Says 'Pucnik's Guard' in Slovenia

AU2401153291 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 91 p 10

[Milan Laketic report: "Military Academies or Evening Schools"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 19 Jan—One of the Demos [United Opposition] officials recently made a "slip of the tongue" when he said that "the first group of officers of the Slovene Army is being trained" near Maribor. That this information was not meant to be made public only confirms the rumors about a big recruitment center in Stajerska in which some strangely dressed soldiers are being trained.

Following this piece of news, one learns that, apart from the units of the Slovene Territorial Defense and the police, there is one more group of armed people in Slovenia. They are called Demos Guard or Pucnik's Guard. Pucnik's Guard numbers about 2,000 people, which in army language, means three battalions. Two battalions are stationed in Kranj and the third in Maribor, so they are now covering the entire territory of the "state" of Slovenia.

Two Battalions in Kranj and Third in Maribor

At the latest Assembly session, Minister Janez Jansa failed to answer a deputy's question about Pucnik's Guard. He calmly provided, however, a reply to the question on the purchase of weapons and one could conclude that since last May, weapons have been illegally received from abroa because none of the competent services had granted import permits. [passage omitted]

Slovenian Official Sends Jovic Message

LD2501160291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency member from Slovenia, Dr. Janez Drnovsek, as a result of the differing interpretations of the SFRY Presidency order on the disarming of illegally armed formations, has sent a letter to the president of the SFRY Presidency, Dr. Borisav Jovic.

The letter, according to a statement from Drnovsek's office, expresses the view that "this Presidency order only means acquittal for those who handed over illegal weapons within the proposed deadline and does not give any additional authorization to anyone, including the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], to carry out any kind of special activities."

Dr. Drnovsek believes that "the statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is not in accordance with such an interpretation and with the statement that the SFRY Presidency made to the public after its 22 January session. Thus, additional tensions have been created that could lead to incidents and more widespread clashes."

Dr. Janez Drnovsek "therefore demands of the SFRY Presidency a clear interpretation of the legal situation following the expiry of the deadline of the disarmament order, and demands that both the JNA and the republican internal affairs services particularly in Croatia, reduce, or rather withdraw, their combat readiness and mobilization. Their activities pose a threat to the possibility of political dialogue and a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis, and also to the talks currently under way among the Yugoslav republics."

In the letter Dr. Drnovsek "firmly rejects the possibility of attempting with the direct or indirect use of the armed forces to intervene in the solution of the Yugoslav political crisis."

Croatian Talks To Continue This Afternoon

LD2501085891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0837 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The talks between representatives of the Yugoslav republics will continue today in Belgrade, where Croatian and Serbian delegations will discuss topical political issues important for the future of Yugoslavia.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is heading the Croatian delegation and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic the Serbian delegation. It is expected that talks will start in the early afternoon.

Milosevic Receives Knin National Council Group

AU2501170091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 91 p 4

[Text] Belgrade—Yesterday Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia, received Milan Babic, president of the Serbian National Council in Knin, and Milo Dakic, vice-president of the Serbian National Council in Knin, and held a cordial discussion with them.

As announced, the talks concentrated on cooperation between Serbia's economic organizations and cultural and other institutions, and organizations and institutions in the Knin region.

VMRO Leader Assails Tupurkovski, Army

AU2501101891 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 91 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Yugoslav People's Army Equals Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Skopje—Ljupco Georgievski, president of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] stated at a news conference in Skopje that Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency, could not run for the post of president of the Republic of Macedonia in the second round of voting.

Answering questions from journalists, Georgievski, the chief of the VMRO, said that Tupurkovski had done great harm to Macedonia with his statement on an unprincipled coalition, and aligned this republic with one of the Yugoslav blocs.

The VMRO leader also said that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] had found itself in the same position as Yugoslavia and that it is taking its last actions. Georgievski emphasized that JNA officials do not have a great deal of love for Yugoslavia, but are rather concerned with the problems of their own existence and their personal incomes that average between 15.000 to 20.000 dinars. Georgievski called on the JNA to defend the country from foreign enemies but leave politics to the politicians.

Macedonians Consider Declaration of Sovereignty

AU2401213291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 91 p 5

[N. Batkoski report: "Polemics on Nationalities"]

[Text] Skopje—The first working session of the newly elected constitutional commission of the Assembly of Macedonia began with a controversial debate on the draft declaration on the full sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Almost all major Macedonian parties agreed that it is necessary to pass such a document at the moment. This is also evident from the fact that two political parties (VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] and the Alliance of Reform Forces) and Todor Petrov, an independent delegate, both offered their own versions of the declaration on a free and independent Macedonian state, and on the basis of these proposals the working group of the constitutional commission formulated just a single one.

At the beginning of the discussion, polemics arose over whether the declaration is a legal-political document or a document that expresses the will of Macedonian citizens. During several hours of long discussion most polemics concentrated on the question of whether the declaration on full sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia should be passed by the Macedonian nation or whether the text should somehow also mention members of the peoples and nationalities that live in Macedonia. Representatives of the Tetovo-based Party of Democratic Prosperity insisted that, in addition to Macedonians, the declaration should also mention as Macedonian citizens the Albanians, Turks, and members of other nationalities who are adopting the declaration. On the other side, the representatives of the Macedonian national parties insisted that this declaration should be kept in accordance with the existing Macedonian Constitution which defines Macedonia as the "national state of the Macedonian nation". To resolve both dilemmas the introductory part of the declaration was finally given to the working group for elaboration.

It was agreed that at its next session the Macedonian Assembly should pass the declaration of sovereignty, as well as the political statement that will in some way explain that the declaration will not suspend the federation services (in the republic) or the on-going talks about the future of Yugoslavia. The declaration, which will probably establish the precedence of the Republican Constitution over the Federal Constitution, will not close doors to the possibilities of further talks.